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Vitalism.

IT is said that the "British Association for the Advancement of Science" is past its prime. However this may be, it still attracts a large number of eminent scientists, both British and Foreign, and its President is assured of a large audience for his address, and a still larger circle of readers.

It is therefore the more to be regretted that Professor Schäfer, at the recent meeting at Dundee, should have used his high position to issue a manifesto on the subject of life, of which we can only say that it is mid-Victorian. It breathes the intolerant dogmatism which used to characterize the utterances of the high-priests of materialism in those early scientific times. We miss that spirit of caution in statement, which has ever been the note of the best scientific scholars of our own day, and we seek in vain for any token that the President has realized the many changes of view that have occurred since the days of "Bathybius." Yet there *have* been researches into the origin and character of life later than those of Professor Huxley. It will be our endeavour then, by way of comment, to put together this new evidence for Vitalism, reserving a brief notice of the address itself until this point has been established.

I.

That living beings, the subject-matter of Biology, can easily be separated off from all inanimate things has never been in dispute. It is when the further question is put as to the nature of this distinction, that the controversy first begins. On the one hand we are told by the materialist that the organism is an elaborate collection of highly complex chemical substances *and nothing more*. It is a machine. The parts are skilfully contrived indeed, but there is present no force transcending those known to physics and chemistry. The machine lives its life, it breathes, feeds, grows, and re-

produces its kind, because its structure is such and its component chemicals are such, that it must breathe, feed, grow, and reproduce, just as vitriol must char the wood upon which it falls. The difference between the animate and inanimate is precisely the difference between one chemical compound and another.

Between life and death the difference is of the same order as that which exists between a phenol and a sulphate, or between an electrified body and a neutral body. In other words, all phenomena which we study objectively in living beings can be analyzed by the methods of physics and chemistry.¹

The vitalist maintains just the contrary. According to him the difference is one of kind. The organism possesses at least some activities which physical and chemical forces cannot by themselves entirely explain. Hence there is present not merely structure, not merely physical and chemical forces, but in addition to these there is "something more." As to the nature of this something more there is perhaps but little agreement. Its nature however is of minor importance to the main controversy. Mechanism then defends the thesis that physics and chemistry can explain all vital activities: Vitalism meets it with a direct negation. There is therefore complete opposition between the two schools.

That mechanistic views dominated the biology of the nineteenth century nobody will deny. The books of the period abound with dogmatic statements in this sense. Thus it is well-nigh impossible to be more explicit than Büchner when he writes:

There can at this day be no scientific doubt that life obeys no special or exceptional laws, and that it does not stand outside the influence of inorganic forces, but must rather be regarded as the result of a definite interaction of chemical and physical forces or a peculiarly complicated mechanical group of motions, for the explanation of which none but the usual and known forces of nature can and need be called in. He who thinks it necessary to conceive a theory of special "vital force" in order to explain life, argues as rationally as one who tries to make out that the movements of a watch are traceable to the working of some special "watch-force," and not to its mechanical organization. But just as the movement of a watch is nought but the result of materials and forces working together in a particular manner, so life also is

¹ Le Dantec, *The Nature and Origin of Life*, p. 5.

no force, but a resultant or movement of particles grouped in a definite order.¹

And again he waxes eloquent upon the same theme:

Those who still cling to the theory of a vital force are fighting a hopeless battle. Let individual mystics among naturalists try, as they may, to instil fresh life into the corpse; let any number of philosophers mourn the loss of this favourite child of the spiritualistic confusion of thoughts; how forcibly soever some may go on pointing to the inexplicability and obscurity of many of the processes of life,—the doom of the theory alluded to must nevertheless be looked upon as sealed.²

Max Verworm concludes a discussion of the subject with the words:

So much is certain: an explanatory principle can never hold good in physiology with reference to the physical phenomena of life that is not also applicable in chemistry and physics to lifeless nature. The assumption of a specific vital force in every form is not only wholly superfluous, but inadmissible.³

Finally, Huxley, the champion of agnosticism, for whom "scepticism is the highest of duties: blind faith the one unpardonable sin,"⁴ commits himself to the following statement:

In the seventeenth century, the idea that the physical processes of life are capable of being explained in the same way as other physical phenomena, and, therefore, that the living body is a mechanism, was proved to be true for certain classes of vital actions; and, having thus taken firm root in irrefragable fact, this conception has not only successfully repelled every assault which has been made upon it, but has steadily grown in force and extent of application, until it is now the expressed or implied fundamental proposition of the whole doctrine of scientific Physiology.⁵

These quotations, which could indeed be multiplied, suffice to show how great was the eclipse that Vitalism had undergone. Nevertheless "the old vitalism that everyone thought was dead has lifted up its head once more." The reaction has set in.

¹ *Force and Matter*, 1891, p. 338.

² *Ibid.*, p. 348.

³ *General Physiology*, 1899, p. 46.

⁴ *Lay Sermons*, p. 18.

⁵ *On Animal Automatism*, 1874 ("Science and Culture," p. 199).

Very recently [to quote an unwilling witness, Ernest Haeckel] this ancient phantom of a mystic vital force, which seemed to be effectually banished, has put in a fresh appearance; a number of distinguished biologists have attempted to reintroduce it under another name.¹

The outcome of this reaction, the new Vitalism, is based upon evidence in the strictest sense scientific, and it is to this evidence, to which Professor Schäfer does not refer, that we would here call attention.

The vitalist must show that vital activities are not entirely explained by physical forces, that the organism is not a machine like a watch, whose entire activity is explained by its structure, without recourse to a "watch-force." We shall endeavour to prove this by establishing the autonomy of the organism, that is to say, that the animal or plant is independent in great measure of its environment and that it can adjust its own activities so as to maintain itself permanent in a changing environment. This independence is manifested chiefly in three ways, in the formation of the normal adult animal in spite of interference with the development; in the case of the adult, in the return to the normal shape after an injury; and finally in the delicate adjustment continually exercised by the animal in regard to all its regular functions. These three divisions may be considered separately.

Every animal or plant passes through a period of development, before reaching its adult and more or less permanent condition. The nature of the development, as the time it takes, varies with the different species. The familiar hen's egg, for instance, is burdened with food material for the young embryo; so that the chick develops for twenty days within the egg-shell and finally emerges not very different from the adult. The eggs, or germ-cells, of many lower animals, on the other hand, are extremely small, possess little or no accumulated food, and are cast out of the body, usually into the water, to fare as best they can.

The egg of the sea-urchin is such an one, and it is on this account, together with its comparatively simple development, that it often forms the subject of experiments. It is to some well-known recent experiments on this egg that we would first draw attention, and in order that the evidence from these results may be appreciated a word must be said of the normal development. The egg is about the size of a

¹ *Riddle of the Universe*, p. 94.

pin's head, and is spherical. It is cast out into the sea water even before union with the male germ-cell, and many doubtless perish. In the event of fertilization and a successful development, the first effect witnessed is that the single spherical ovum splits into two halves, which remain pressed together. The single "cell" has divided into two "cells." After a pause a second division occurs, producing four equal cells all in one plane. The third division divides each of these cells equatorially, giving rise to eight cells all equal and arranged in two sets of four each. So far all divisions have been equal and the arrangement is perfectly symmetrical. The next step is the production of sixteen cells. These are arranged in four sets of four; one of the end groups, however, consists of four cells much smaller than the rest, from which all the skeleton and muscles of the animal are eventually formed. Cell divisions continue to take place, and by the twelfth division the cells, somewhat less in number than 2^{10} (1024), have become arranged in the form of a hollow sphere. Further development need not concern us. Suffice it to say that one pole of the sphere becomes folded in, as the side of a burst tennis ball may be folded in, and that the cavity so formed becomes the primitive digestive cavity of the young animal. The animal even at this early stage swims about by means of fine hairlike processes, and procures food for itself. All the above development takes place within forty-eight hours, and if the ripe egg can be obtained, will proceed quite merrily in any jar of clean sea water.

Here then we have a typical case of a simple development. An egg apparently almost homogeneous is seen undergoing a series of divisions and thus differentiating itself into an organism with definite parts. What is the inner meaning of this development? We may dismiss a view once held, that such a development was merely an unfolding of structures already present in miniature within the egg. Such a suggestion, while avoiding the immediate difficulty, does not really solve anything; for it merely drives back the inquirer for a generation, and he will not be satisfied until some explanation is offered as to how the miniature structure got into the ovum. This view, in its crudest form, founded as it was partly on the assumption that such things as wasp grubs, and butterfly crystalids were truly comparable to what we call eggs, and partly founded on entirely mistaken observation, has long been abandoned. Nevertheless, the mechanist is logically driven to

hold a view somewhat similar. He must suppose that the sea-urchin's egg whose development he witnesses is so constructed, that when left in sea water, it performs the divisions just described. It must be so differentiated in the three dimensions of space that at the third division four small cells are cut off, containing all the material that is destined to form skeleton and muscles, and so on through the entire development. Each organ is not preformed in the ovum, but it is predetermined. That is to say, according to Weismann, and all mechanists must hold something similar, every organ or part of an organ is represented in the ovum by a determinant, a material particle of some kind, whose nature is such, that under suitable conditions, it brings about the development of the part it represents. Thousands of the determinants, he holds, are grouped in the ovum, and are so arranged that as it divides and subdivides, the different determinants are gradually separated off and make their way to the part of the growing organism where their action is required.

Whether or not such a result could be conceivably accomplished by what we call physical and chemical forces, is a question over which we might still be wrangling, had not experiment come to our aid. Turn again to the ripe egg of the sea-urchin, and behold the single cell divide into its first two parts. The division should have divided the determinants. For the two cells now present are destined to play different parts in the adult organism. If one of these cells is destined to produce the right side of the adult, it should contain all the determinants for the right side and none for the left. Hence, if one of the two cells could be destroyed in such a way that the other would continue to develop, the one cell should produce half the body, whether it be the right half, the anterior half, or merely certain organs, whatever in fact that particular cell was previously destined to produce. This is the experiment successfully carried out by Driesch. The result may be put in his own words:

Let us now follow the development of the isolated surviving cell. It went through cleavage just as it would have done in contact with its sister cell, and there occurred cleavage stages which were just half of the normal ones. The stage, for instance, which corresponded to the normal sixteen-cell stage, and which of course in my subjects was built up of eight elements only, showed two micromeres, two macromeres, and four cells of medium size,

exactly as if a normal sixteen-cell stage had been cut in two; and the form of the whole was that of a hemisphere.

The development of our echinus proceeds rather quickly, the cleavage being accomplished in about fifteen hours. I now noticed, on the evening of the first day of the experiment, when the half germ was composed of about two hundred elements, that the margin of the hemispherical germ bent together a little, as if it were about to form a whole sphere of smaller size, and, indeed, the next morning a *whole* diminutive sphere was swimming about.¹

Hence, although it appeared at first sight that half the organism had been removed, yet the remainder was able to reorganize itself, and produce a perfectly typical whole, smaller indeed, but in every other respect similar. Nor was this true of the two-cell stage only. When four cells had been formed it was found that each, if separated, could perform the whole development, and produce a perfect though dwarfed larva; while if one cell was separated and three left together, both the single one and the group of three would each produce a perfectly normal larva.

Any one of these facts seems sufficient by itself to deal the death blow to mechanism. For if, to stretch a point, we grant that a structure can be supposed in the egg, such that the normal development will occur on merely mechanical principles, we cannot for a moment conceive that after a division the structure of the two halves will be the same as that of the whole; nor again that the structure of the four quarters is the same as that of the whole; yet each of these we find can perform the same development. Nor will it suffice for Weismann to say, that in these first divisions there is no differentiation, that it is similar to dividing a pound of butter into four quarters, for even were this not incompatible with the postulated structure of the egg, we should still have the anomaly of four parts, each structurally adapted to produce the whole of the larva by ordinary physical means, and yet normally, again by ordinary physical means, producing only one quarter of it! A machine cannot be divided and yet remain the same whole. Were it a fact that a watch could be cut in half and two small complete watches be thus produced, then indeed we should have a very strong argument for the existence of a special "watch-force." We should have a phenomenon, which the structure of the watch could not explain.

¹ *Science and Philosophy of the Organism*, vol. i. p. 60.

But we would base our argument on more general grounds. It is apparent that the teaching of these, as of other experiments, is that the ultimate shape in some way dominates the previous development. The animal or plant is destined to have a definite shape, or form, and to this form it will attain in spite of interference from outside. That interference can easily be of such a nature as to prevent the attainment of the normal structure can readily be granted. Nevertheless there is plentiful evidence to show that the normal structure does tend to reappear. We have seen that a return to the normal was made even when three of the four parts of the ovum were destroyed. A similar result was obtained by experimenting with the young larva, when just beginning to feed. Portions were cut off from the wall in varying positions; and it was found that no matter where the piece was cut from, no matter what the size (provided it was not very large), the resulting organism was always quite normal. The same conclusion is derived from another series of experiments. A developing ovum was placed between two glass slips, so that they slightly pressed upon it. As the result of pressure, when the egg reached the eight-cell stage the cells instead of being in two rows of four cells each, were arranged all in one plane. If the pressure was now released, the egg righted its development and produced a normal larva. If the pressure was continued for another division, a plate of sixteen cells was obtained, which should have been in four rows of four, and yet if pressure was now removed, a normal larva resulted. Hence, although the early arrangement and divisions of the egg were thrown out of gear, the normal result always occurred. The resulting form dominated the development.

Nowhere does this conclusion stand out more clearly than among the facts usually grouped together as "regeneration phenomena." Probably many a person, endeavouring to capture a lobster from its rocky hiding-place without having his fingers nipped, has seized the animal firmly by both claws, —only to rise up with a claw in each hand, while the lobster retires in safety to grow his pincers anew. The lobster can throw off its claws, and regenerate new ones. In like manner, certain animals, some sea cucumbers, eject the whole of their intestines when irritated, and then proceed to regenerate the whole of the digestive apparatus. In such a case we naturally expect that the new claw or the new intestine should

be exactly like the old. The fact causes no surprise. Nevertheless, it is an admirable case in point, and one very difficult for the mechanist to explain. In the cases above cited the regeneration always occurs at a particular point. The claw is severed at a certain joint, and from that joint the new claw grows out. Let the mechanist then suppose that there exists at that point some "accessory germ-plasm," some material possessing such a structure, that it mechanically grows out into a limb of the required dimensions. Nor will we torture him with questions as to how such a piece of mechanism originated. But in many other cases regeneration may take place at any point! The newt, for instance, if deprived of its tail, grows a new one; and the tail may be cut anywhere and in any direction. If a small piece is cut off it grows a small piece, if it has lost a large piece, it grows a large piece. The final result is always the same, a perfectly normal tail. What conceivable arrangement of "accessory germ-plasm" can account for this? There is no need to labour the point. Let us but add one more striking case, that of the little sea-squirt *Clavelina*. This animal is about half an inch long, and lives attached to a rock in the sea. Each individual has its own gelatinous case, and within that case its various organs. The chief of these are: a large filtering apparatus, the branchial basket, by means of which it catches the particles it feeds upon, and in the lower half of the body, an intestine, heart, and reproductive gland. If now the animal is cut in half, so that the branchial basket is separated, a remarkable phenomenon is witnessed. All the structure of the basket disappears bit by bit, until the whole presents the appearance of an homogeneous mass, and from this homogeneous mass, the branchial basket of the former individual, another *Clavelina* subsequently emerges perfect in every way save that it is much smaller than the original! The normal result appears here again as before, although in this case the organism has been entirely redifferentiated to produce the result.

This constant return to the normal form, whether after interference with course of development, or after injury to the adult, is, we think, a very definite proof of vitalism. For a machine, a mere structure, is of its very nature automatic, predetermined, and unchangeable in its activity. Given the proper conditions, it produces the same result infallibly, but if new conditions are met with, the machine cannot read-

just itself to produce the same result. Not even the most sanguine of men has ever kept a watch with a broken hair-spring, in the hope that it would mend itself, nor has the most hopeful of inventors conceived the possibility of designing such an one. Hence an organism which does so readjust itself to its circumstances is no mere machine.

If we turn from the study of form to that of function, we find that the physiologist has precisely the same tale to tell. The organism is continually maintaining its normal activity, in spite of disturbing influences from its environment. Thus with the air which we constantly inspire and expire, oxygen is introduced into the blood, and carbon-dioxide is removed. This at one time was thought to be a comparatively simple chemical reaction, the oxidation of certain food substances in the blood stream. Hence the rate of production of carbon-dioxide was assumed to depend on the amount of oxygen present, and the amount of foodstuffs present to be oxidized. Further research, however, shows that this is by no means the case. More oxygen or more food will not increase the carbon-dioxide output; but the output is increased, if the animal is subjected to a fall in the surrounding temperature; that is to say, more energy is liberated by this means, in response to the greater call for energy to maintain the normal temperature of the body. Moreover, the regular rise and fall of the chest, with the corresponding expansion and contraction of the lungs, is by no means such a mechanical movement as it would seem. It is under control of the nervous system, and is regulated with such exquisite exactness, that the amount of carbon-dioxide in the ultimate air spaces of the lungs is always the same. If the output of carbon-dioxide from the blood into the lungs is increased, as for instance by a cold climate, then the respiratory movements are imperceptibly increased, and the excess of carbon-dioxide is removed.

In other departments of physiology an increase of knowledge has revealed a like delicacy of adjustment. The amount of food material used, *i.e.*, burnt up in the body to produce energy, is constant, and any food taken in excess of this amount is stored up as reserve, chiefly in the form of fat. When food is deficient the reserve is drawn upon, and even after long starvation the amount of energy produced in the body is normal. The body again retains the normal amount of common salt in the blood, even though the food is care-

fully deprived of its salt. And so on through the remaining activities. The body is not at the mercy of its environment, but within certain limits it is independent of it.

Dr. J. S. Haldane, after a careful examination of the various activities, thus sums up:

From the foregoing survey of general metabolism as observed in the higher animals, it seems evident that the phenomena connected with it are only intelligible in the light of the assumption that the nature of an organism is to maintain its fundamental structure, composition, and activities. Its activities do not run down or flare up under the influence of the environment, like those of a machine; nor does its structure wear away piecemeal. The organism itself exerts an active deciding influence in the give and take between itself and its environment, and unless this fact is taken into account it is impossible to place the physiology of animal metabolism on a sound scientific basis. The crude physical and chemical theories of animal metabolism and tissue growth which became current before the phenomena had been at all adequately investigated have indeed been shattered to pieces by the more exact researches of the last fifty years; and from no department of physiology can stronger evidence be adduced of the characteristic autonomy of the living organism.¹

The organism, therefore, whether we consider its form or its functions, is constantly maintaining the normal in spite of its environment. No mere machine can conceivably effect such adjustments. Hence we have here a valid line of proof that "physics and chemistry will never explain all the phenomena of life," that physiology is not "merely the chemistry of the proteids," in a word, we have a valid proof of Vitalism.

II.

In the foregoing short account of the subject, we have assigned certain definite reasons for the adoption of Vitalism, understanding by this no more than the thesis that physical and chemical forces are unable to account for all the phenomena exhibited by living beings. It has also been asserted that scientists, especially those of the younger generation, are coming more and more to accept this point of view. Nevertheless, Professor Schäfer, at the Dundee meeting of the British Association, in the course of his paper on "The Nature,

¹ "Life and Mechanism," cf. *Guy's Hospital Gazette*, June 2 and 16, 1906.

Origin, and Maintenance of Life," elaborated what is undoubtedly as whole-hearted a defence of the mechanistic solution as any put forward since Tyndall settled the whole question once and for all in his famous Belfast address just thirty-eight years ago! While we have no fear that the castles of sand which Professor Schäfer has erected will check the advancing tide, yet a word more directly on the subject of the address may perhaps not be out of place.

To start with, the evidence for his theories⁶ which the President produces is neither very convincing nor even very new. We should have expected at least some passing reference to the work of Driesch, and the experimental embryologists, to Haldane, Starling, Weymouth Reid, in the Professor's own subject of physiology, yet there is no sign to show that they have ever attracted his attention, while Benjamin Moore and D'Arcy Thompson are merely mentioned in a footnote as "vitalists."

Setting aside then the fruits of all recent research, and ignoring all the anti-materialistic criticism of our time, the address proceeds in the old familiar style of the superior dogmatic "scientists," slurring over difficulties with "one may expect," or "the future will show" in a fashion one hoped had become obsolete. Let us consider a few sentences as illustrations of this method of darkening counsel by assertion without proof, by conjecture instead of fact, by ignoring inconvenient evidence:

The line between inorganic and organic chemistry which up to the middle of the last century appeared sharp, subsequently became misty and has now disappeared [all twentieth century research notwithstanding!] Similarly the chemistry of living organisms, which is now a recognized branch of organic chemistry, but used to be considered as so much outside the domain of the chemist that it could only be dealt with by those whose special business it was to study "vital" processes, is passing every day more out of the hands of the biologist and into those of the pure chemist.

It is becoming every day more apparent that the chemistry and physics of the living organism are essentially the chemistry and physics of nitrogenous colloids.

The combination of these elements into a colloidal compound represents the chemical basis of life; and when the chemist succeeds in building up this compound it will without doubt be found to exhibit the phenomena which we are in the habit of associating with the term "life."

. . . Recent advances in knowledge have suggested the probability that the dividing line between animate and inanimate matter is less sharp than it has hitherto been regarded. . . .

From the last of these quotations the unwary reader might gather that we are dealing with the discoveries of the last ten years or so. The first quotation, however, may deceive him; for the dividing line between organic and inorganic chemistry "became misty," when Wöhler made his famous synthesis of urea in 1828!

But let us see what Professor Schäfer has to say for his views:

Three characteristics are chosen as being ordinary manifestations of life, viz., spontaneous movement, assimilation of food, growth and reproduction. These are then taken in turn and shown to be common to "living and non-living matter."

Spontaneous movement is indeed the commonest sign of life. When we see a thing move we think it is alive, but we do not, therefore, of necessity assign local motion as a proof of Vitalism; and this because of the difficulty of proving in every case that this local motion is really spontaneous. We look down a microscope and watch the lowly *amœba* extending its blunt, shapeless processes, and slowly crawling across our field of view, and we say it is alive. We see a drop of oil and potash under the microscope, and as Butschli observed in 1892, the drop puts out processes and moves in a manner somewhat similar to the *amœba*. We do not say that it is alive because we know that it is not. The movement is not spontaneous, but is completely explained by the ordinary physical phenomena of osmosis and surface tension.

Are we then to conclude that the movement of the *amœba* is due to surface tension? It may be so. In that case we have to inquire why it is that the *amœba* (and not the oil drop) moves away from the light, and why the *amœba* (and not the oil drop) moves towards and absorbs particles suitable for food; and when the mechanist has provided a sufficient answer to these questions, all that he will have shown is that a common manifestation of life, namely spontaneous local motion, is lacking to *amœbæ* as it is lacking to plants, and that in the former case, an entirely different kind of movement was mistaken for the spontaneous movement of a living being. Professor Schäfer, however, concludes somewhat differently:

It is therefore certain that such movements [*i.e.*, those of the amœba] are not specifically "vital," that their presence does not necessarily denote "life," and when we investigate closely even such active movements as those of a vibratile cilium or a phenomenon so closely identified with life as the contraction of a muscle, we find that these present *so many analogies* with amœboid movements as to render it certain that they are fundamentally of the same character and produced in much the same manner. Nor can we for a moment doubt that the complex actions which are characteristic of the more highly differentiated organisms have been developed in the course of evolution from the simple movements characterizing the activity of undifferentiated protoplasm; movements which can as we have seen, be perfectly imitated by non-living material. The chain of evidence regarding this particular manifestation of life-movement is complete. (1) Whether exhibited as the amœboid movement of the proteus animalcule or of the white corpuscle of our blood; as the ciliary motion of the infusorian or of the ciliated cell: as the contraction of a muscle under the governance of the will, or as the throbbing of the human heart responsive to every emotion of the mind, we cannot but conclude that it is alike subject to and produced in conformity with the general laws of matter, by agencies resembling those which cause movements in lifeless material.

Truly this is an amazing deduction from the surface tension phenomena in an oil drop!

The other two manifestations of life selected for consideration receive a similarly inadequate and illogical treatment. Assimilation, *i.e.*, the taking up of food material, and its transformation into the substance of the living being is absolutely characteristic of life, and is often used as a proof of Vitalism. Assimilation, as the scholastics would say, is an immanent action, *i.e.*, the term of the action is in the being that performs the act. The amœba, let us say, flows round a particle of food, and that food presently becomes amœba. This is an entirely different thing from the deposition of material *on the outside* of a crystal. Such deposition moreover only occurs when the crystal is placed in a solution of the right kind of substance, whereas amœba will digest a large variety of things. Yet Professor Schäfer considers the two cases identical, and alleges the fact that crystals increase in size when placed in a suitable solution, as a proof that inorganic matter assimilates and reproduces in the same way as a living being!

As a final argument we are referred to some experiments

of Leduc, which would be appropriate enough in a book of "scientific recreations," or even as a curious illustration of the ordinary process of osmosis, but, in the sense in which Professor Schäfer and Leduc apply them, are not treated seriously by men of science.

By these three facts, viz., the movement of oildrops, the growth of crystals, and the toys of Leduc, the distinction between living and non-living is abolished!

The rest of the address calls for no comment. It is partly devoted to a consideration of how life *might have* originated, and *might have* evolved, and partly to an interesting account of the co-ordinating mechanisms of the human body; and after a passing reference to the nature of disease, and to the duration of life, it concludes by expressing the hope that science, having made us happy here on earth, may eventually provide for us all a happy death!

Let us at least hope that, in the manner depicted by Dürer in his well-known etching, the sunshine which science irradiates may eventually put to flight the melancholy which hovers, bat-like, over the termination of our lives, and which even the anticipation of a future happier existence has not hitherto succeeded in dispersing.

An earlier materialist, the poet Lucretius, based similar hopes, we may remember, on the atheistic doctrine enshrined in his *De Rerum Natura*.

Should any reader think that we have been unfair in our strictures of this address, we can only ask him to read the original. He will then, we venture to think, agree with us that the real lesson it teaches, both in its lines and between them, is the utter bankruptcy of mechanism.

JAMES SCOLES.

The Story of an African Mission.

IN this paper I shall try to tell something of the Catholic Mission at Onitsha, in the British Colony of Southern Nigeria. The Mission is conducted by the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, and Onitsha is a port on the River Niger,—which is of course one of Africa's greatest waterways. It is a place of much importance now, and will be of more importance in future. The place consists of the native town, and of a congeries of European warehouses, Government offices, stores, and hospital, and the Catholic Mission. These are grouped along the river front, and back from it,—the Mission headquarters standing upon a bluff, looking out away across the Niger, here, two hundred miles from the sea, more than a mile wide. There is quite a considerable European community, and Onitsha presents a very much civilized, a very busy, and a very sophisticated appearance; which makes the passing stranger a little sceptical towards the stories he probably hears about the primitive savagery reigning all around, within a very few miles of the Station. West Africa is a land of seemingly impossible contradictions, and the passing stranger can afford to dispense his scepticism very sparingly. There is plenty of cannibalism within easy reach of Onitsha.

The figures which I shall give below are taken from the Annual Report of the Mission, compiled under the direction and with the authority of the Prefect Apostolic of Southern Nigeria.

The Mission dates from December, 1885, when Father Lutz, with one other priest and two Brothers, arrived at Onitsha, and began work. They knew nobody, and were themselves unknown. Nobody had invited them to Onitsha. They were strangers, foreigners, conspicuous further on account of their very obvious poverty. Apostolic Poverty is a virtue, of that there is no doubt. In lands that are called Christian it is not commonly regarded as a recommendation for a stranger. In tropical Africa it creates the worst possible impression, at first. Native society consists of only two classes; those who have many possessions, and those who have them not. And so Father Lutz and his companions found themselves regarded as persons of no standing whatever by

the natives. *Prestige*, in the case of an individual European *vis-à-vis* of the native, means that the European goes about with a staff of attendants, followed by a crowd of persons carrying packages of his property upon their heads. The missionaries were without servants, and they had no money wherewith to pay carriers, let alone goods to place upon their heads.

So when Father Lutz asked the native notables for a bit of land to put the Mission house on, they told him that there was none available. Later, they modified this blunt refusal. He was told that if he liked to make his house, and live in the Ju-Ju Grove—the seat of the local Fetiche—no *earthly* opposition would be offered to his doing so. Apparently the Onitsha City Fathers did not appreciate the proximity of the Ju-Ju place, whilst they didn't dare themselves to interfere with it. Possibly they hoped that the fate of the cats that fought at Kilkenny would light upon the Fetiche and the missionaries when the latter should start to take possession of the Grove.

Superstition prevented any natives from assisting Father Lutz and his companions in desecrating such a sanctuary, so these white men, without medicines, or shelter, or money, had to turn to and clear the jungle and make a temporary house all by themselves, the immediate result being the death of Brother John, just a month after he had landed in Onitsha. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church," and the fine Mission compound of to-day stands upon the site of that ancient Devil-Grove.

The Journal of the Mission gives in simple pregnant way the story of those early days. Praying, working, suffering, always full of Divine Hope, the missionaries fought on from day to day. As in every such case, the first three or four years were a time of fiery trial; later, in huts still poor, with means only a little less inadequate, that time of sowing began to bring forth fruit. The language was learned, something of the view-point of the native was appreciated, the native himself came to believe in the missionaries.

For several months in each year, during the season of low river, Onitsha looks across the expanse of the Niger to vast stretches of yellow sandbanks, miles and miles in extent. Twenty-five years ago these banks swarmed with traders of the Igara tribe, their merchandise—chiefly slaves. Year by year, a vast slave-market went on for months there.

The supply was plentiful, and prices not high; a piece of cloth would purchase a lad. In the Mission, every single penny that could be earned, begged, saved, was turned into cloth, or tobacco, or beads, or salt, or gunpowder. Daily during the season Father Lutz voyaged across the river in a tiny dug-out canoe and bargained with the merchants. Daily he returned with his purchases, poor creatures torn from home and family, but now, thanks to him, free. Space does not allow of my discussing here the slave conditions of a quarter of a century ago upon the Lower Niger, but this much may be said,—the lot of the slave was not a happy one. There was a practice of utilizing slaves in connection with the funeral ceremonies of their owner. In accordance with this practice, a deep pit was dug, very broad at the bottom, very narrow at the top. Into this were thrown a number of living male slaves, whose legs had been carefully broken beforehand, thrown in such manner that their writhing, struggling bodies made a living, groaning carpet. Upon this mass of suffering the corpse of the late owner was lowered. Then a number of women slaves had *their* legs broken, and were cast into that fearful charnel house. Then the pit was covered in. It needs no very lively imagination to picture the horror of such a scene.

Father Lutz lived just long enough to see the Mission well started. Anxiety, hardship, over-work, killed him, and another stepped into his place. After five years' work and suffering, only 378 people had been received into the Church. Most of these were redeemed slaves. In that year, 1890—it seems such a short time ago to us here in England—there were four priests and two Brothers *alive* in the Mission.

Slave redemption was not the only work before the gallant little band. Another field of action was disclosed, and, with characteristic energy and courage, they entered upon it. The peoples of this part of Africa are great believers in witchcraft. It is the easiest thing in the world to raise a village against some unfortunate by saying that he, or she, is a sorcerer, *exercising the art to the detriment of the village*. The wretched wizard is driven forth, lucky if he escapes serious injury. No other village will receive such a fugitive, and the wretch wanders about in the bush till death, coming in the guise of starvation, or of some great beast of the forest, destroys him. Far and wide through the bush went the missionaries, advertizing an asylum for all wandering witches at Onitsha.

Lepers and twin-children share in the unpopularity of indiscreet wizards, and fare in like manner with them. Like them, and like the slaves, they found refuge and mercy at the Mission. So in the year 1895 we find 870 Catholics, chiefly ex-slaves, witches, lepers, and twins. The poor had the Gospel preached *to* them, and practised *on* them. The cost to the Mission, in *personnel*, was enormous, but the work went on. No sooner did a man fall than his place was taken by another eager volunteer.

In the year 1900 the third successive head of the Mission died. A fourth took over command, and died in 1905, in which year the present Superior, Father Shanahan, was appointed. The first twenty years of the Mission cost the lives of four Superiors, besides those of many priests and Brothers.

In this same year, 1900, the territory of which Onitsha is a centre, was taken over by the Imperial Government, so that it now forms part of the Colony of Southern Nigeria. From that event dates an era of wonderful progress.

Between 1885 and 1900 only one Mission Station, additional to Onitsha, had been opened. This was at a place called Aguleri, where the "king," a man named Idigo, became a Catholic, all his family following suit. Thus began a process which resulted in the existing Christian village of 575 souls. In 1911 there were seven principal Mission Stations: Onitsha, Aguleri, Ogboli, Calabar, Nteje, Azubuli, and Igbariam. The following table shows the gradual and vigorous development during the eleven years from 1900 on.

		Year 1900	Year 1905	Year 1911
Mission Stations, with European				
Missionaries	...	2	4	7
Missionary Priests	...	8	11	16
" Brothers	...	3	8	10
" Sisters	...	4	7	5
" Catechists (native)	...	12	25	82
Chapels	...	—	—	24
Schools	...	7	16	36
Catechists' Stations	...	5	12	23
Baptisms	...	246	380	1,017
Confessions	...	2,450	7,479	32,781
Communions (ordinary)	...	1,932	4,481	35,883
" (Paschal)	...	150	278	1,772
First Communions	...	35	98	679
Catholics	...	1,322	2,000	4,672
Catechumens	...	157	847	4,735
Christian families	...	70	136	315
School attendance, average daily				
(boys and girls)	...	156	584	5,421

These figures speak more eloquently than any words could, of the magnitude and importance of the work going on under the direction of the Prefect Apostolic, Father Shanahan, and of those devoted religious, men and women, under his command. Little indeed is ever heard of it, or of them, beyond the frontiers of the Colony. How many people in these Islands knew even that there is a Mission at Onitsha? There are these priests and Brothers and nuns working and suffering and dying—and here at home, nobody knows, nobody helps. The missionaries never go home on furlough. They are in the Mission field for life. The Society maintains in Europe houses for the purpose of affording asylum to missionaries sent home to die. In the words of Father Shanahan: "It does not do to keep wounded soldiers in the fighting line."

Education is undoubtedly the most important work of the Mission. The school is the medium through which it is hoped to influence the race. Long experience has shown that in the building-up of a living, healthy Church, it is of no great use to look after the old and the sick only. So it is on the youth of the country that the great hope of the Mission rests to-day. The children remain in the schools for periods varying from four to nine years, and during that time they practice, and see practised, the Christian Rule of Life. Heart and intelligence are formed and enlightened, and vigorous effort is made to build up moral character. In so far as the Mission concerns itself with education, the Southern Nigerian Government supports it. It took some time for the Administration to make up its mind to part with any money, but, the plunge once taken, support has been continuous and generous.

What measure of success attends the effort to turn the aboriginal African—the lowest of his own race—into a Christian, useful citizen? It is difficult to say. Only a very wicked or an exceedingly foolish man would dogmatize upon the point. Like most people who are brought closely into contact with the educated native, there are times when I find him trying. But there are varieties of the educated native. You have the trousered negro, he reaches his apotheosis, this sort, upon the local Press—impertinent, cowardly, flashy and superficial, and a bully. You meet also the decent, useful, practical-Christian educated native, and he is a really fine type. It may be that almost everything depends upon the *personality* of the teacher in the first instance. This much

is very certain—that the white community regards the native who has been through the hands of the Fathers with much less doubt than it feels regarding the man who has been educated by other agencies. I am purposely putting the fact thus moderately. Average white opinion in the Colony expresses itself upon this matter with vastly more emphasis.

On the point generally it is useful to remember that it took centuries of missionary work to make an impression upon our forefathers—in the mass, and in nature—probably the purest and most intelligent of the human race. It is not reasonable to expect that the process will be more rapid in the case of the fickle sons of Ham. I quote here a very striking passage from a letter of Father Shanahan's, bearing upon this:

... considering the surroundings our neophytes live in, the fearful sights they witness, the blood that flows in their veins—blood contaminated with the crimes of centuries—they are indeed very good. What seems to men impossible is not so to God. We count upon the Grace of God, communicated in abundance by the Sacraments, to change the black man's heart. We may not see the fruit of all our work, others will. The heart of our people is like the face of Africa, covered with burning sands and impenetrable bush. It will take a great deal of work and many years before any considerable change will take place.

But as the "great deal of work" has been, and is now being, and will continue to be done, therefore there can be no manner of doubt that the "considerable change will take place," sooner perhaps than now seems probable, or even possible.

How do the missionaries subsist? There is some help from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. The Society of the Holy Childhood also assists, and the Congregation of Propaganda in Rome does something. And there is Father Dunn, of New York. Upon these the missionaries depend for everything they eat, wear, and spend upon buildings and catechists. Although the Mission is largely manned by Irishmen, and works in a British Colony, its existence is scarcely known in these Islands. Nobody at home here knows that there are missionaries of their own faith and blood in this part of Africa, working for God, and badly needing help. The which no doubt explains why no interest is manifested here, and no support forthcoming.

With the assistance of their people the missionaries themselves build up their houses of stone or brick, quarrying the stone and burning the bricks. They cut down trees in the forest and make all the timber parts of the house, the furniture, &c., on the spot. This practical teaching of trades forms no small part of the work done by the Mission. With regard to the labours of white men in such a climate, it is to be remembered that a medium artizan (white), working there gets £250 a year and upwards, free passage out and home again, and four months' holiday in England on full pay after each twelve months in the country. In all the Colony there are few if any buildings superior to those put up by the Fathers, and very few as good. And there is, of course, no comparison whatever in the respective costs.

At present there lies, close beside the Mission House at Onitsha, a vast heap of stones—12,000 cubic yards—gathered stone by stone. Each of these stones has been torn, one by one, from the unwilling flank of a hill in the neighbourhood, and carried in triumph, on a human being's head, to its present resting-place. The collection has been going on for some years. Similar smaller heaps have been achieved at the Stations at Ogboli and Aguleri. At Calabar Station gravel and sand wherewith to make concrete blocks are ready on the site. And at each place the necessary timber has been felled, and is ready. Four churches that means, all ready to be started, and not one able to be started. Lime and cement and corrugated iron are needed, and these must be imported, which means that they must be *bought*. Mere toil cannot gain them, money is required. There will be nothing else to pay for. The actual building will be done by the missionaries and their willing helpers, the people, at a cost which, reckoned in terms of love and labour, cannot well be stated, but which, calculated in terms of money, amounts to just nothing.

Every Sunday 10,000 natives attend the Masses, Catechisms, sermons, in the seven Stations of the Mission. They have to attend in relays, as the total number of places does not exceed 3,000. In nearly every case the chapel of Sunday is the school of the weekdays.

The chapels which are going up as soon as the lime and cement and corrugated iron can be got, will be permanent chapels. If people at home would assist with stipends for Masses, or by founding Masses, the help would be very real,

and Father Shanahan's Mission at Onitsha, Southern Nigeria, would rejoice.

Of the four stalwarts who started the Mission in 1885, one only survives. He was sent home once in a dying state. But he didn't die, and went back to his post, and there he is to-day. Others stayed as much as sixteen years on end in the Mission Field, and then died, there, or at home, having been sent back for that purpose.

These men do so much, give so much.

J. F. J. F.

Gracechurch Papers.

X. THE MOUNT AND COUSIN JEM.

WHEN we first went to Gracechurch old Mrs. Tudor lived at the Mount in dowagerial state, that is to say she kept a footman who, like David, had been young: for about twenty years he admitted, to intimates, being "o' the prudent side o' forty": then he died, and his tombstone (erected by Llewelyn Tudor, Esq.) gave explicit information as to his age and present whereabouts, stating that he had passed to realms beyond the skies in the sixty-sixth year of his life and the forty-eighth of his tried and faithful service of the Tudor family of Penygran in this County. The public were left in doubt as to whether it were his late mistress, or Llewelyn, Esq., who had "tried" him.

Llewelyn lived at the Mount with his mother, who always alluded to him as "My youngest son Loo," which gave an elderly impression as to the present squires of Penygran: for there really were two, Squire Owen and Squire Pryce, who were twins. Squire Pryce was the younger by nearly twenty minutes, and showed great deference to Squire Owen, whom he always represented as being on the point of matrimony with a lady of large fortune and high connections: but Squire Owen repudiated her fiercely, and pointed out the absurdity of the idea. How could he marry and set a mistress over his brother Pryce's head? Did not Pryce always sit opposite him at dinner? How would it look to send him to one side?

Anyway, they neither of them did marry: though once it was rumoured that, at Bath, they had been "particular" towards the twin daughters of Lord Ecclefechan, the Ladies Elspeth and Margaret Dunwhiddie: it turned out afterwards that Squire Owen never could find out which Squire Pryce preferred, and would on no account speak up till he was sure, lest by mishap he should ruin his brother's hopes of earthly happiness. Squire Pryce was in the same difficulty, not un-

naturally, owing to his senior's apparent vacillation. So it came to nothing, and the two Squires returned to Penygrán, each with his hopes of earthly happiness intact. Thence they would drive in, once a fortnight—every other Wednesday—to call upon their mother and Llewelyn—in a large canary-coloured chariot on C springs and straps, with their sisters Jane and Eliza opposite.

The two Squires faced the horses, not out of any lack of gallantry, but because Miss Jane dreaded "chaps" (nothing would induce Miss Mildstone to believe she ever used a term with such horrible associations): and Miss Eliza could never make her sister hear out driving unless she sat beside her.

When I saw them they were always, all four of them, asleep, and tumbling about as the big carriage swung from side to side on its leathern straps.

Mrs. Tudor never returned these visits—though she liked them—for she esteemed all horses "wicked," and clave to a bath-chair. In her bath-chair and an "ugly," she was slowly dragged forth by Jonah (the tried and faithful footman), on sunshiny mornings in spring and autumn and on shady afternoons in summer. A walking-stick may not seem a useful article of costume in a bath-chair: but Mrs. Tudor always "wore" one.

"It does," she explained, "to stir Jonah up with, and point things out."

She used to beckon me to her with it, and our conversation was apt to begin as follows: "You're Mrs. Ayscough's little boy, eh? Pretty creature too (not *you*, my dear): and with three sons to bring up, poor young woman! I know what it is being left a widow with three sons."

As the late Squire had not left her a widow till her youngest son was over fifty, and had also left her provided with a jointure of two thousand a year, I was not sure that she really did know what it was.

"I was well-looking myself," the old lady would go on, settling her head in her bonnet and slightly agitating her silvery curls. "The Pocket-Venus of the Wrekin, they used to call me once: it's a pity there's no Christian goddess of beauty, then decent young women with a certain appearance would not be likened to such a heathen baggage. Prophet, you can pull on—I call him Prophet because he's Jonah and came out of Wales. Can you eat an apple, my dear?"

I replied that I had progressed that far in my education,

and Mrs. Tudor then bade me "step in and tell Porkins she's to give you one." For the bath-chair exercise mostly took place on a sort of paved court in front of the Mount, between it and one of the gateways into the churchyard.

Porkins always gave the apple very graciously, and it consisted of about a dozen apples, some pears or apricots, and a bag of nuts.

"They don't disagree with boys," she would say. "Nothing do: unless it's lessons."

Porkins mostly dressed in old clothes, very good and handsome old clothes, that had belonged to her mistress: and I think she believed herself to resemble Mrs. Tudor, but it was in a respectful, unsuggestive way, and gave no offence.

When Mrs. Tudor died I missed her, though we had never talked to each other for more than five minutes at a time: and I expected Llewelyn would pine away, but it did not seem to occur to him. He merely let the Mount and retired to a sort of bachelor dower-house in Trimpley, where he proved the absurdity of the dictum that it is not possible to do absolutely nothing: proved it for about fifteen years, at the end of which time he died, as he had lived, for no apparent reason.

Meanwhile the Mount was let at first to a Major Lloyd, with about forty sandy hairs which he wore, well moistened, in a sort of flat wreath athwart his shiny scalp. His sister, Miss Jemima Lloyd, lived with him, and it turned out that they were our cousins. How this was I never made out; but Cousin Jemima said it was so, and the Major agreed that women always knew all about such matters, and intimated that we had better call him Cousin Duck—for reasons best known to themselves, his godfathers and godmothers, in his baptism, had bestowed no other name upon him than Duck-wrath. So there we were, suddenly enriched with a brace of totally new relations, who shared some seventy summers between them: Cousin Jem was a generous soul and would never take, I think, anything like her fair share: she would have been, Cousin Duck hinted, entitled to rather more than half: but she would not hear of it.

"Nonsense, Duck. It does you no harm to be forty: and nothing you can say will make me more than thirty. You've got the money—take the seniority too."

This relationship made my mother's head go round, for anything to do with pedigrees reduced her to imbecility.

"It's through Mrs. Ayscough of Wales," Cousin Jem would explain airily. "You say yourself you've often heard of Mrs. Ayscough of Wales."

We all had. About fifty years before, a certain Roger Ayscough died—in Yorkshire or Cornwall, I think—and his widow retired to hide her sorrows among the Welsh hills. She was about sixty then, never married again, and had not previously enriched the world with Ayscoughs to marry and bring us related to the Lloyds. So how we *were* related my mother could never tell: Cousin Jem would never adduce anything but Mrs. Ayscough of Wales.

Cousin Duck did nothing in particular—perhaps that was why he came to live at Gracechurch: he sat all day in the "study" smoking in a lethargic manner: and he dined well and silently every day. Afterwards he sang:

"I'll be free and easy still."

And went to sleep till it was time to rejoin his brandy and soda in the study.

In the study were forty-one pipes, all meerschaum, and he taught me, in the ninth year of my age, and the six-thousand and sixty-ninth of original sin, to smoke one of them. He liked me better than my brother Phil because I was not sick, though four years younger.

All the same I never really believed in him. His comatose good-nature and affluence did not dazzle, though they impressed. He lent us air-guns, and rook-rifles: on rare occasions he tipped us—as it were reluctantly, rattling his money first to warm his imagination, and slowly drawing forth, say, two half-sovereigns, then, more hastily, exchanging them for four half-crowns, or, if luck favoured him, for four two-shilling bits. He was apt, for several weeks afterwards, to inquire how we were spending the cash: till the tenor of our replies pointing to the fact that it *was* spent, his inquiries cooled.

Cousin Jem had not much money of her own, and she cheated the housekeeping books too freely, for the sake of charities, to be able to give frequent tips. When she did give one, it was with a sudden bounce, and it was never alluded to after.

We liked her much more than Cousin Duck, and she was in fact much the better fellow of the two. In spite of her Welsh father and her Welsh name, she took after her Irish mother, and was an impulsive, warm-hearted, generous crea-

ture, whom it was easy to laugh at and impossible not to like. She even contrived to have a comfortable tinge of brogue that warmed her talk and gave it un-local colour. She told remarkable stories, and wagged her head in the telling, as who should say, "If ye don't believe me, don't tell me, and no harm's done."

She did not want to be an old maid, and was willing to assist Providence in warding off the catastrophe. There came, one Christmas, to stay with the Miss Whitefords, a cousin of the right sex for Cousin Jem—rare in Gracechurch. He was (as Luke the Miller, in the *Mill on the Floss*, said he doubted the Prodigal Son would turn out in the long run) "no great shakes." But he was a man, and not plain, and he had not sixpence, and he thought Cousin Jem had: and they became engaged. I think Cousin Jem insisted upon it. The happy man submitted: never much more: he was not for belittling his sacrifice—he was of less than Cousin Jem's even official age. He went back to London, and Cousin Jem wrote to him by every post, and he replied on Sundays, even oftener if Good Friday happened to fall in the week. Poor Cousin Jem: she was terribly fond of him, and, if he had been worth sixpence instead of not having one, he should have grown fond of her. But, alas, he only studied wills and settlements at Somerset House or somewhere, and found out that Cousin Jem had rather less of her own than two hundred a year. Of course he made *her* break it off: that sort of man always does. It was not, perhaps, easy: but he knew what he wanted, and it had nothing to do with what *she* wanted.

"I'm free, Johnnie! I'm free!" Cousin Jem announced one day with desperate triumph.

"These," she cried with a difficult smile, "are my letters—I begged him keep the dimond pin, and me father's gold repeater I gavem, and the chain. And these are his to me. I'm sealing them up to send him back."

There was no parcel-post in those days, and it must have cost him something in postage to return the fat bundles of thick letters, on thick scented paper, all written in her big headlong handwriting. His made but a meagre packet: but it was hard for her to let them go.

"I've never slept without 'em under me pillow all these months," she whimpered. I knew, as well as if she had confessed it, they were the only love-letters she had ever had,

and she was nearly forty, and there would never be any more.

Poor Cousin Jem! She did not lose much: but she would not believe it. And when, a year after, the man she had been fond of married, she sent him a wedding-present.

"Sure he'd have married *me* if I'd had six hundred a year instead of two," she declared proudly. "And what's a fellow to do with only his looks and his good legs to stand on? The teapot and things'll remind him of an old friend that's a friend still—and sixty ounces they weigh: solid. They were my godmother's, Lady Frinck o' Frinck Hall, and I shall never want any of my own now. . . ."

The prospect of pouring out tea for the term of her natural life from Cousin Duck's pot forced a few tears from her eyes, but her undefeated smile shone through them rainbow-fashion.

"There's no getting over it, I'm an old maid now," laughed Cousin Jem. "Well, it's no sin, anyway, or there's many that'll never see glory in England."

And she stoutly sealed her packet with a good deal of wax, and half a dozen driblets that surrounded the main body like Jupiter's moons.

One result of her disengagement was that Cousin Jem became Higher Church. She had always had a spark-like tendency to fly upwards, and now she soared aloft into unfettered ritualism. Of course, it was the ritualism of the sixties, still it was very disconcerting to Gracechurch—which was far from feeling itself Low. She made a huge necklace of jet beads look as like a rosary as she could by the addition of a crucifix: and when she crossed herself all the beads rattled, and Cousin Duck scowled. She fasted to that degree that a glass of port and a biscuit was constantly required between meals. She had an "altar" in her room—whither Cousin Duck never penetrated—with statues and candles and flowers: as she mounted higher the flowers even became artificial. She left a prayer-book in her place at church "with Latin in it," to the grim delight of the sexton's wife who dusted the seats; and that lady did not hesitate to inform her friends that Miss Lloyd was a female Jesuit—a more numerous body than male Jesuits, in popular fiction. "It'll end in Rome, mark my words else," the sexton's wife averred, with some inconsistency, for if Cousin Jem were really a Jesuit, it might not unreasonably have been supposed that Rome was reached already.

Cousin Jem heard the rumours and heard them with intense pleasure: she bowed worse than ever, as old Harry Dray noted with fury, and genuflected profoundly to the three brass plates on the altar. She wore purple in Lent, and red on feasts of martyrs. Cousin Duck, a martyr every day, wore the latter colour in his heavy moustache all the time.

What it would have ended in had Cousin Jem stuck to Gracechurch, cannot be decided: but the example of a friend, Miss Athelstan, of Margaret Street, in London, who had always outdone her in Anglicanism, and wrote letters indicative of a mild scorn of her country doings, put her back up, fired her with ambition to "perform a retreat": and into retreat she hied. For this purpose she sought, not a community of female Protestant Jesuits, but one of Anglican Benedictines, St. Benedict, as is well-known, having belonged to the Church of England.

The result was, however, that Cousin Jem came out of her retreat with the conviction that St. Benedict belonged to the Church of Rome, and that she would like to. She was away a month or two, and when she returned to the Mount, she had to confess to her brother that she was a Catholic. He had heard her say so for a couple of years, and had attributed it to the weakness of her sex. When he understood that she meant "the real thing," his good-nature deserted him.

"Anything but that, and welcome," he observed, with a tendency to purple that was unrubrical, for it was Paschal time. "Ye've bowed, and I've said nothing: and curtsied to the Communion Table, and I've said nothing. And crossed yerself up hill and down dale: and I've taken no notice. But the Pope I can't do with and I won't. You and me's to part," he concluded, parting with grammar with the same indifference. And he stuck to it: and poor Cousin Jem had to go. He did not make her go there and then: but in a few weeks the Mount was no longer her home—nor his either, for he withdrew to Wales, and placed himself under the protection of a widow who was only not a dissenter because she deemed dissent vulgar. And Mrs. Major Lloyd, as we understood she liked to be called, took care to guard him from her Popish sister-in-law. As the late widow Ap Ryce was about fifty-five, and hard-featured, and had a temper (which, in the pessimism of modern speech, means a bad one), we can only hope he liked it.

As for Cousin Jem she disappeared—"into," as old Harry Dray tragically put it, "the whirlpool of Rome."

To me she was held up as an awful warning, and I meekly accepted her, in the fulness of time, as an example. She was the only Catholic I ever knew till I was one myself, except Jemmy Kelly, the rag-and-bone man, and Mrs. James Kelly, with whom we did not visit.

Catholicity in a small Protestant town, fifteen miles from Mass, is pursued under difficulties when you only keep a donkey-cart. But Mr. and Mrs. Kelly pursued it, though not hotly. Once a year they drove in some state, and with a timorous apprehension of the state of grace, to Wrexham: and there, as Mr. Kelly pleasantly put it, they "polished their kettles": it was observed that they never swore at the lodgers (they kept a tramps' lodging-house) on their return: which the tramps attributed to fatigue, but which I think had another explanation. If it were fatigue, Mrs. Kelly must have been tired indeed, for she was apt, on these occasions, to cry a little: and her mood, in general, was not melting.

"My old woman," Mr. Kelly would explain, not himself unmoved, "don't like to lose her soul. But what's you to do? There aren't no Mass nearer, and we're monopolists here. The rag and bone trade in a cirkwet o' fifteen mile and better is ourn. God's so good He'll take us as we are, being as He's made us what we are."

I have never heard anything worse than a language that they may have thought suitable to their company urged against Mr. and Mrs. Kelly: but I cannot honestly attribute my own conversion to Mrs. Kelly's pointing finger—with a rabbit-skin, inside out and not in its first freshness, depending from it.

JOHN AYSCOUGH.

An Anglican critic on Probabilism.

IN our last number, among the "Topics of the Month," we had occasion to refer briefly to an article in the current *Church Quarterly Review*, in which an Anglican clergyman, the Rev. C. J. Shebbeare, discussed the everlasting question of Theological Probabilism. It seemed to us a fact worth noting that so distinct an advance towards a truer understanding of the character and tendency of this doctrine should have thus manifested itself in a non-Catholic periodical. And this is also our motive for returning to the same subject now.

But first a word on the reasons which have led this critic to an estimate of Catholic Moral Theology so different from that which is customary among non-Catholic writers. The latter have been content to rely upon Pascal and take him at his own valuation. He writes, they have practically said, in exquisite style; therefore what he says must be true. He introduces a Jesuit into his dialogue, on whose *ipsissima verba* he bases his condemnations; therefore, this Jesuit must have been a real man whose language expressed faithfully the sentiments of his class—whereas he was but a dummy whom Pascal invented that he might put into his mouth the sort of scandalous opinions he wished to fasten on the opponents of his Jansenism. Proceeding by this method, and dispensing themselves from any serious effort to go behind Pascal to his sources, and to that profound study of the whole science of Moral Theology by which alone these could be interpreted, they could only draw the conclusion which Pascal suggests to them, that the Jesuits are a hopelessly unscrupulous set of religious whose one object is to obtain dominion over men by catering to their passions.

In contrast to such people, Mr. Shebbeare has seen that the questions which the Catholic Moral Theologian investigates are real problems, the study of which is essential for those who would be sound directors of consciences, and the neglect to study which on the part of Protestant ministers is what has brought it about, that, as he puts it, "a Roman

Catholic priest can sometimes handle with sure touch questions with which the Anglican clergyman and the Free Church minister deal at best in a somewhat amateurish fashion." On the other hand he thinks (we shall see in what way) "the general attitude towards morality which the Roman Theology expresses" is seriously defective in other respects, and "should be subjected to frank and discerning criticism." Accordingly he encourages his brethren to undertake this two-sided study, and traces for them in outline the points to which they should pay attention, making a beginning with the Doctrine of Probabilism "against which so much of the heavy artillery of controversy has been directed." He feels indeed that "a writer who attempts from outside to deal with a system so vast and intricate as that of Rome, must approach his subject with diffidence." But he realizes that, "since it is open to a modern student to learn from members of the Roman communion, not only through their writings, but in the still more illuminating intercourse of private friendship, his task is at least a far easier one than that of the anthropologist who seeks—without misgiving and apparently with success (?)—to penetrate the religious conceptions of ancient and alien races." This, though so seldom pursued, is obviously the right method to pursue, and it is what encourages us to comment on Mr. Shebbeare's article. The Jesuits are very far from being the only Probabilists among the Catholic clergy, and they know that, however outsiders may judge of it, their doctrine of Probabilism is studied in practically every Catholic theological college throughout the world, where it is mostly accepted by the whole body of professors and *alumni*. This is their vindication, under the secure protection of which they need not greatly mind if writers who have only dabbled in the subject absurdly misconceive them. But when one meets with writers who are making an honest attempt to understand what is undoubtedly a complex doctrine and full of technicalities, and who, that they may do it justice, are anxious to avail themselves of such aids and explanations as Catholic proficients in the study may be able to supply, one feels encouraged to point out to them what one conceives to be correct or incorrect in the conclusions at which they have arrived.

Probabilism [says Mr. Shebbeare] is a doctrine concerning the method by which practical certainty can be attained in doubtful cases of conscience. How far, it asks, is a man bound in doubtful

cases to lean to the safe side? And it answers that he may take the "unsafe" side whenever any strong and solid reason can be urged for so doing. The "safe" side—*pars tutior*—is the side which favours the law. The less safe side is that which favours liberty. Thus, if it is doubtful in a given case whether I am morally bound to pay some one a shilling, the safe side is to pay, since this is the side which favours the law—the law which is possibly applicable in the case, *viz.*, "you must pay your just debts." The less safe side is that I should keep the shilling in my own pocket.¹

This is a correct statement of the position so far; and the writer shows some discernment when he adds a query whether "this conception of a safe side is a sound one;" and, further down in the article, pronounces that "Probabilism is in truth a destructive criticism of the very principle upon which it is supposed to rest" [since] to say that the "safe side" is not always to be followed is to say in effect that it is not always "safe." But he fails to see that the term "safe side," which originated with the Tutorists, and is somewhat charged with their *petitio principii*, has been taken over by the general body of the Moral Theologians only in a purely technical sense; to designate a course of conduct which, whether morally obligatory or not, is on every possible supposition permissible. Thus, in the illustration Mr. Shebbeare gives, the man would unquestionably be acting safely by the moral law if he paid the shilling, but might thereby be divesting himself of a shilling which he did not really owe, and so had every right to keep.

Probabilism being thus defined, Mr. Shebbeare explains the other theories which compete with it; or, we should rather say, have competed with it, for the more severe among them are no longer held by any accepted class of Moral Theologians. "Put shortly," he says, in summarizing what he has laid down, "the various systems are as follows":

Rigorism teaches that in doubt the safe side must always be taken. Mitigated Tutorism that the safe side must always be

¹ In a footnote Mr. Shebbeare adds another illustration of the system "in relation to a problem of more serious moment." "If my brother has had a touch of insanity, and some doctors hold, against others, that the symptoms will probably recur, am I bound to communicate these facts to the woman to whom he is engaged?" But here the complexity of an unfamiliar study has been too much for him. The case cited is not one of Probabilism, but comes under the category to which he refers later, that is, of "a result to be absolutely attained," "when it is beyond dispute that we are bound to avoid all risks." Thus the sole problem for discussion in the case is whether a brother is so placed that he is responsible for the marriage contracts contemplated by a brother so affected.

taken, except when the weight of argument in favour of liberty is immensely strong. Probabiliorism maintains that you may choose the side of liberty without requiring this preponderance, but still insists that, unless there is a decided balance, or at least some balance, on the side of freedom, the safe side is to be chosen. Equiprobabilism holds that we need not take the safe side if the balance is even, but must do so unless the reasons in favour of liberty are at least equal (or nearly equal) to the reasons against it. Probabilism asserts that we need not take the safe side, even though the balance is in its favour, so long as the case for liberty rests on solid and substantial grounds, the moderate Probabilist adding a caution to the effect that the argument for liberty cannot be called solid and substantial in any case where there is a strong and certain balance on the side of law. Laxism asserts that we are not obliged to follow the law as long as we can make out any case whatever in favour of liberty.

All this may pass save the last sentence. There never was a theory of Laxism. There have been writers whose estimates of what is probable in regard to certain points have been lax, at times scandalously lax, and it is just these lax estimates which Popes like Alexander VII. and Innocent XI. have proscribed. But Mr. Shebbeare would seek in vain for theologians who have formally propounded such a theory as that "we are not obliged to follow the law as long as we can make out any case whatever in favour of liberty." Pascal's Jesuit may have said as much because it pleased Pascal, his inventor, to put such sentiments into his mouth; but, if it is true that "as a trenchant criticism of a particular type of religious thought the *Provincial Letters* of Pascal can never become obsolete," it is also true that this particular type never had existence outside Pascal's imagination.

Mr. Shebbeare next proceeds to state the relation of Probabilism to Moral Theology as a whole. It "is but a section in the general doctrine *de Conscientia*: on this general subject the Church of Rome speaks out with strength and decision. . . . 'A right conscience when it enjoins must always be followed: a conscience which is invincibly erroneous must, when it enjoins, likewise in every case be followed.'" He does not give an illustration of this, but, as the point is important, we may supply one. Cardinal Bourne, in his concluding speech at Norwich, called attention to an American proselytizing agency very active just at present at Rome. They invite Catholic girls to sanatoria and recreation

halls where temporal inducements are lavishly offered, but on condition that the girls promise never to go to Confession, never to go to Mass, and never to pray to our Lady. These would-be proselytizers are perfectly aware that the girls who promise this believe that in so doing they are grievously sinning, but that does not trouble them. Good Catholics, on the contrary, could not possibly adopt the corresponding practice. A Catholic mistress would never think, for instance, of persuading, still less forcing, a Protestant servant girl to attend a Catholic service, if she had reason to know, or even to suspect, that the servant, should she consent to go, would feel that she was acting against her conscience. Her conscience would indeed, in that case, be erroneous, but it would be invincibly erroneous, and accordingly her Catholic mistress would say, "I should be causing her to commit sin, if I were to get her to go to our Church."

So much about the necessity of following a certain conscience. "But what of a doubtful conscience?"

This [says our reviewer] is the crucial point, and the answer is that in doubt we must inquire. . . . Meanwhile, till you have inquired, you must lean to the safe side. . . . So far as acting with a doubtful conscience is concerned the Probabilist is entirely strict. He does not admit for a moment that he is encouraging the man of doubtful conscience to sin boldly. On the other hand he is abolishing practical doubt altogether. *Conscientia dubia deponenda est* . . ., Probabilism being strictly limited to this special work of laying aside doubt, and attaining "practical" certainty, even though "speculative" doubt may still continue. When moral certainty fails . . . it remains that we should have recourse to a *principium reflexum*, by the help of which practical doubt may be converted into moral certainty. . . . Such a practically certain *principium reflexum* we find, says the Probabilist, in Probabilism.

This account is correct in itself, but hardly puts the matter plainly enough for the requirements of an uninitiated reader. Put more simply the case is this. Speculative doubt is doubt about the existence of any law prohibiting what a man wishes to do; practical doubt is doubt whether he will be sinning or not if he disregards this problematic law. The *principium reflexum* by which practical doubt can be changed into practical certainty is the principle that a law, the existence of which after sufficient inquiry is found to be doubtful, does not bind and need not be taken into account. *E.g.*, Does the Church's law forbid painting on Sunday? If I think that

probably it does, and yet do it all the same, I am acting in practical doubt and am sinning. But if, after taking the pains to inquire, either by private study, if I am competent, or by consulting those who are competent, I find that solid reasons are available for either side, and hence that the question is disputed, some holding that painting on Sunday is forbidden, others that it is not; then I am free to do it with a good conscience.

It is of consequence in judging of Probabilism to remember that it will recognize no opinion favouring liberty to be truly probable unless the reasons on its behalf retain their probability when compared with the reasons urged on behalf of the existence of a law of prohibition. This also Mr. Shebbeare has seen, and he has glimmerings too of a limitation to this task of comparison which is necessary in itself, and makes for the soundness of the Probabilist as contrasted with all the rival positions. "In most cases of honest uncertainty," he says, "the worst of all courses for the practical man is to weigh interminably the *pros* and *cons*. . . . And here at least the Probabilist can claim a clear advantage over the Æquiprobabilist and the Probabiliorist. These systems necessitate all the balancing and weighing which is just what we want to avoid. The Probabilist need make no minute comparisons." This is very important and yet is overlooked by many writers. When it is claimed that some opinion is more probable than, or as probable as, the opinion opposed to it, what does this mean? When opinions that, in the light of their opposites, are only *slightly* probable (*tenuiter probabiles*) have been excluded, as they must be, from the category of those that can be safely followed, by what common measure are we to determine the exact comparative value of those opposites which can both cite solid reasons in their behalf? If it is a question of intrinsic reasons, it is seldom that the advocates of one side are not more impressed with the reasons that support it than with those brought forward in support of the other side. If it is a question of external authorities, these can indeed be counted, but they need also to be weighed, and there is not likely to be general agreement, even among prudent and competent judges, as to the side, or the extent, to which the balance inclines.

Our reviewer's conclusion so far, from his study of Probabilism, is that clearly it "is not the frankly immoral doctrine that it has sometimes been thought to be," and "there

is even good ground for thinking it superior to all its rivals." Accordingly he recommends the system to the consideration of his clerical brethren, who themselves are generally quite ready to admit that to seek "direction in the Anglican communion is always something of an experiment."

The Anglican "director" [he says] is commonly an untrained man. He has no systematic knowledge either of moral theology or of moral philosophy. . . . And have we not here the explanation of the failures we deplore? The persons who most seek "direction" are persons of scrupulous conscience: the tendency of the high-minded amateur in moral theology is always and everywhere towards Rigorism: and Rigorism is the very worst of all possible systems for the scrupulous.

But in the fourth and fifth sections of his article he seriously qualifies these commendations of Probabilism, and takes exceptions to its supposed practical working that show he has not entirely emancipated himself from the misconceptions which Pascal has disseminated so widely. One feels too that in thinking out this side of his criticism he has not availed himself, perhaps was not able to avail himself, of the same "illuminating intercourse of private friendship" as in thinking out the points already referred to. Curiously, he begins this portion of the article by quoting some words from the late Bishop Ullathorne to a young priest to whom he said: "Never either for yourself or your people let your moral theology be your guide in Direction."

The Bishop's meaning would seem to be in itself sufficiently plain. A Confessor may have at times to consider for the sake of his penitents how far the claims of strict obligation go, and where the territory of freedom begins, but his general purpose in guiding souls is to lead them on to high aspirations and generous endeavours, to the extent to which their personal characters and dispositions, prompted and aided by the measure of divine grace accorded to them, permit of. In other words, of the sciences which as a Director of Souls the Confessor applies, Asceticism, or the Science of Spirituality, is quite as necessary as Moral Theology. Mr. Shebbeare, however, unaccountably finds something ominous in Bishop Ullathorne's very natural piece of advice to a young confessor. It seems, he thinks, to indicate that, notwithstanding its merits, which he acknowledges in the terms we have cited, there is a "danger" in the doctrine of Pro-

babulism, which "seems to arise chiefly from its association with doctrines which weaken the general sense of moral obligation." This is indeed a serious indictment, and one looks to see how it will be substantiated. First he points to some discussions which are usually to be found in compendiums of Moral Theology, like those of St. Alphonsus or Gury, such as "whether a man would sin gravely who only aimed at avoiding mortal sins and took no heed about venial ones"; or how often (so he puts it) "one need love God—once in five years, once a month, &c., &c.," or as to the doctrine that one is obliged to love God above all things *appreciative* but not *intensive*. But he cannot have examined these instances very carefully. As regards the second there is no question of "loving God" once a year or once a month, but of reciting certain definite prayers called "*acts of love*" as distinguished from saying prayers or doing deeds of faith, or resignation, or patience, or thanksgiving which involve the love of God and give manifold expression to it. As regards the third, can he have understood what the terms mean? Were a child to come to him saying, "I want to love God above all things, but I find I cannot. The other day when my mother was grieved at a fault I committed I cried bitterly; to-day, when I find I have grieved our Lord by a big sin, I can find no tears to lament it." How would he reply? What would he say to the child? Would he drive it into despair by telling it there was no hope of divine forgiveness for it until it could pour forth the missing tears, or would he console it by explaining to it that it had not applied the right test of supreme love; that the right test was to ask itself which it would prefer, the will of parents who call on their child by the love it bears them to do something that is sinful, or the will of God, calling on it by the love it bears Him to hold fast to the path of duty? We imagine Mr. Shebbeare would choose the second of these alternatives. But if so, he would be saying in effect that "one is obliged to love God above all things *appreciative* but not *intensive*." As regards the first it is a purely speculative case, put not with the view of influencing practice, but with the view of appraising with precision the essential difference between venial and mortal sin. Still a practical rule is given by the authors cited, a rule which in their books invariably accompanies this determination of the speculative question, and in view of which it is really outrageous that Mr. Shebbeare should cite the instance as that of a doctrine which

"weakens the general sense of moral obligation." For the practical rule thus inculcated is that a man resolved to care only about mortal sins, and to commit venial sins freely, would expose himself to the very gravest danger of mortal sin, and would hardly escape falling into it. Thus Tanqueray, in the very passage to which Mr. Shebbeare refers as illustrating how the practice of Probabilism tends "to weaken the general sense of moral obligation," speaks as follows:¹

A Probabilist who is always counselling his penitents to follow the less probable opinions would be acting very imprudently; for it would be rash indeed to infer that, because a man is not strictly forbidden under sin to follow such opinions, to act on them is always good and opportune. An upright Christian who desires to walk in the footsteps of Christ, should not only avoid mortal sin, but even, in proportion to his condition and strength, tend to moral perfection: otherwise, he will lead a life little worthy of a Christian and will soon fall into sin. For the man who is so far self-indulgent as to permit himself to enjoy all the pleasures which are not strictly prohibited, will quickly crave for forbidden pleasures, and, becoming so habituated to pleasure, is exposed to the danger of sinning. Hence even though the Probabilist knows well that it is lawful to follow opinions that are truly probable, he will frequently exhort his well-disposed penitents to aspire after better things, animated not by the fear of Hell but by the love of God and Christ. Thus tempered, Probabilism is very far from tending to laxity.

This accords with Bishop Ullathorne's advice to the young priest, and expounds it. It accords also with what every Probabilist theologian would say. Thus Noldin writes:²

We must distinguish between what is necessary to fulfil the strict law and what is necessary to acquire Christian perfection. If a Christian man were to do nothing further for the service of God than what the strict law as interpreted by the principles of Probabilism requires, he would certainly be leading a life little worthy of a Christian. The practice, however, of the Probabilists is this. When it is a question of imposing an obligation and judging what are sins, they are lenient [in their interpretations], so as to avoid the risk of formal sinning; but when it is a question of attaining to perfection and of the exercise of virtues, they strive for the highest, meting out the service due to God not by the obligation which the law imposes, but by the love and gratitude they feel towards the Divine Majesty.

¹ *Synopsis Theologia Moralis et Pastoralis*, ii. 242.

² *Summa Theologia Moralis*, i. 275.

It should, moreover, be borne in mind that those who at times have recourse to the principles of Probabilism to extricate themselves from some embarrassment in which they happen to be placed, are not necessarily animated by the desire to make their spiritual life easier. Even Mr. Shebbeare sees that it is otherwise in some circumstances, for he raises the question of one who has had doubts concerning the lawfulness of the profession by which he earns his bread; and he recognizes that "if the doubt still remained (after full consideration) most men would feel entitled to take comfort from the reflection that the course they were adopting was such as did not shock the conscience of good and thoughtful persons." This indeed is a good type of a class of cases which are constantly arising. A good Catholic who sets the highest ideals before himself and his family, and strives to order his own life and theirs in conformity with this standard, finds himself seriously impeded by the miserable tricks of trade which are now so prevalent. He can be exact in what he does himself, but how far is he responsible for what others do, his employers or those with whom he must engage in business transactions. He would not for the world do anything that is sinful, but is this or that sinful, and must he to avoid it give up the service of the employer or the custom of that buyer, and reduce himself and his children to starvation? If, on recourse to his confessor, he finds that there is a solidly probable opinion which will allow him to retain his employment, who shall accuse him of laxity, or even of low aims, if he follows it? And there are many similar cases in other departments of human questionings, of which the same could be said, though doubtless there are cases in which the confessor resorts to probable, solidly probable, opinions, in order to make the best of souls whose aims are not high and cannot be forthwith raised to higher things. How can the confessor help acting thus? He is the administrator of moral laws, not the maker of them. Who is he to impose obligations that God has not imposed?

In the fifth section of his article Mr. Shebbeare, in continuing to set forth what he conceives to be the unsatisfactory side of the doctrine of Probabilism, shows a quite remarkable incapacity to understand the Catholic position; and adopts in consequence an attitude of superciliousness towards it which is quite unlike the attitude of dispassionate inquiry with

which he commenced. Indeed, he becomes here glaringly inconsistent, even with himself. For, whereas in his earlier, and again in his final sections, his point is that there is much in Probabilism which is not only sound, but such as Anglican clergymen suffer gravely from not adopting, in this fifth section, his point is, though he does not see it, that Probabilism can be allowed no place at all in the ordering of a seemly life. For his idea of the "Roman Catholic Church" in her use of this system is that she "aims at giving moral guidance to those who have no intention of following after righteousness with their whole heart" and "make no profession of really strict living," but fancy that they can "keep straight" without undergoing any "change of will" or process of "conversion."

One may well wonder how he can have got this out of the Probabilism which he appeared to understand in some measure, that Probabilism the whole purport of which is to give guidance to those who, having first, with the aid of divine grace and the use of the sacraments, sought, through change of will and conversion of heart, to set themselves right with God, are seeking to follow after righteousness with their whole heart, and desire to know what is the nature and what are the limits of their obligations. But the fact is that at this point in the development of his criticism, Mr. Shebbeare becomes in fact a Tutorist, and a Tutorist who goes beyond every precedent of Tutorism—at least as it is found in the Catholic Church—in inventing and imposing obligations under sin. He will have no distinctions made between deeds that are obligatory and deeds that are of supererogation. All that we can do is obligatory. "If the Church of Rome teaches," as it unquestionably does teach—that is for those who have received no special divine injunction, as had the Apostles, or as have those who have bound themselves by vow to this degree of perfection—"that a man may lawfully decide for himself whether he will aim at perfection or not," then we must declare that "the Church of Rome has erred." "Nothing, if one thinks of it, could be more definitely un-Christian than to teach that while we know what would be the highest course for us to take, we may blamelessly refuse to take it." "Is not each man clearly called to that course of action which he sees to be the highest and the best—best not merely for some person in some conceivable conditions, but the best for himself here and now?" How then "can we agree with St. Thomas that

the distinction between 'counsels' and 'precepts' arises naturally under a law which is a law of liberty?"

Has he seriously considered what this fearful doctrine means? A young man feels the desire to enter the ranks of the Christian ministry. Mr. Shebbeare will say "then he is bound under sin to follow the call." Well, let that pass, though it is not so clear. But is he, therefore, bound to go and sell all that he has and give to the poor, as the necessary prerequisite for one who strives after perfection? Will Mr. Shebbeare tell him "Yes," because, in view of our Lord's counsel to the rich young man, he must know that this would be the highest course for him to take? And does Protestantism, which according to Mr. Shebbeare, so far surpasses Catholicism in the grandeur of its moral standard, invariably exact this degree of self-renunciation from its clergy? Or, to take the case of a layman. He has a comfortable income of, say, a thousand a year. He is generously minded, and resolves to set aside half this income to be spent on works of charity. Will Protestantism step in and tell him that, since he could give so much more and still have enough to enable him to keep body and soul together, it cannot but regard him as faithless to his duty and steeped in sin, for not giving away another two or three hundred, or even more? Mr. Shebbeare will urge, no doubt, that he has eluded the force of this inference by his qualifying clause, according to which a man must aim at what is best, "not for some person in some conceivable conditions, but the best for himself here and now." But, at all events, to the two instances taken this qualifying clause does not apply, since we have chosen them as cases where no ties of family or analogous relationships can be cited as making what is best in itself not best also for the persons exemplified.

What is it that has led Mr. Shebbeare to defend a position more calculated to repel souls from a path so perilous or drive them into despair, than to excite them to generous action? Here we may pass over his unaccountable admiration for Kant's doctrine of "independent morality," which he seems to think forms an ideal of self-evidencing rectitude. For surely, on reflection, he must come to realize that a system which dissolves the bond between morality and God, and finds no place in its scheme for Christian humility, or divine grace, is not a system to which any Christian Church should look up as to a pattern for imitation, much less should venerate as

introducing a higher stage of morality, and requiring us to draw the line between pre-Kantian and post-Kantian, rather than between pre-Christian and post-Christian, ethical standards.

The chief source, however, of Mr. Shebbeare's misconceptions on this point has evidently been the hackneyed Protestant misinterpretation of Luke xvii. 10—"When you shall have done all these things that are commanded you, say we are unprofitable servants: we have done that which we ought to do." It is characteristic of Protestantism that it is so apt to fix on some particular text which can be construed into an expression of one or another of its favourite doctrines, and to shut its eyes to all those other texts which must likewise be taken into account if a well-balanced interpretation is to be reached. Thus in the present instance a reference to Matt. xxv. 21 ("Well done, good and faithful servant, &c.") or *ibid.* vv. 35-40 ("I was hungry and you gave Me to eat, &c.") prove at once that Mr. Shebbeare's interpretation is ill-balanced. Luke xvii. 7-10, moreover, is a particularly unsuitable text to be made the sole support of a theory in flagrant conflict both with the general teaching of the Gospels, and the traditional doctrine of the Church, for the difficulty of tracing its connection with the context in which it is placed makes its meaning somewhat uncertain. Still, even as it stands, it only says that those should consider themselves "unprofitable" servants who have merely done what was commanded them. It does not say that everything was commanded them, that no freedom was left them to go beyond what was absolutely commanded, in the way of further service, which could be generous because to this extent it was free. Indeed the nature of the comparison with which our Lord here clothes His meaning, excludes any other interpretation than this, for he would indeed be a harsh and disedifying master who so overwhelmed his servants with obligations as to leave them without the slightest scope for free action. What then about the term "unprofitable"? Most probably it is meant to inculcate the lesson that, when we have done our utmost for the divine service, we must not be puffed up with vain glory, but must be mindful that God has no need of our service, that we have nothing that we have not received, that in rewarding our merits He is only rewarding His graces.

We have, perhaps, said enough to invite Mr. Shebbeare to reconsider his adverse criticism of our doctrine of Supererog-

gation, which he must see that he has misunderstood. We may, however, suggest to him one further test of a different order which he may find it worth while to apply. It is the test of the good tree that cannot bring forth evil fruit, and the evil tree which cannot bring forth good fruit. Of the three systems he has brought into comparison, Kantianism certainly cannot claim to have contributed towards raising the moral tone of the world. Rather it is the one amongst modern philosophies of life which has been the most potent of all in leading the populations which the Christian religion had so splendidly evangelized back into Paganism. And, though far be it from us to overlook or undervalue the many wholesome, edifying, and even holy lives that are to be witnessed in the ranks of those who extend the domain of strict obligation to every mode of action and endeavour, who will be so rash as to compare these more moderate achievements with the vast array of lives marked by heroism and self-sacrifice of the highest kind, at home or in the mission field, in times alike of peace and persecution, that have drawn their inspiration from the principle of Supererogation?

S. F. S.

Christianity in the Far East.

II. THE HEART OF CHINA.

THE city of Si-ngan-fou, to adopt the spelling most commonly favoured by French sinologists,¹ is an ancient capital of the Middle Kingdom, lying in latitude 30° 19' N., and in 108° 42' of east longitude. Situated close beside the Wei-Ho, one of the main tributaries of the Yellow River, and commanding a valley of great agricultural and strategic importance, Si-ngan-fou, with something like a million of inhabitants, is still a thriving emporium, and it has always been the administrative centre of the province of Chen-si, the cradle of the Chinese race. To estimate its remoteness from the birthplace of Christianity one has only to remember that while lying in much the same latitude as Palestine, it is separated from it by seventy degrees of longitude. This represents a journey of over four thousand miles, in other words, a distance greater than that from Newfoundland to Vancouver, or from London to New York.² None the less, it is in the city of Si-ngan-fou that we meet with the earliest traces of the preaching of Christianity by missionaries of Syrian speech, the record going back with certainty to an age when the converts made by St. Augustine himself were still living at Canterbury and when the greater part of England was as yet buried in paganism.

The discovery of the venerable antiquity of the Christian faith in China was first made nearly three centuries ago, but the

¹ Professor E. H. Parker prefers to spell *Si-an Fu* (see e.g. his valuable article "The earliest Christianity in China," in *Dublin Review*, October, 1902, pp. 380, seq.). Professor James Legge uses the form *Hsi-an Fu*. The British Museum catalogue enters it under *Se-gan-Foo*, but in most of the older histories, atlases, &c., it appears as *Sin-gan-foo*.

² For details consult the admirable work of Father L. Richard, S.J., *Geography of the Chinese Empire*, English Translation, Shanghai, 1908. It is gratifying to note the appreciation which this handbook, due entirely to Catholic missionary enterprise, meets with in so unsympathetic a source as the new *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "China," vol. vi. p. 171. Father Richard's book is also included among the reference volumes accessible to all in the Reading Room of the British Museum.

incredulity with which the intelligence was received in many prejudiced quarters so far dominated the mind of scientific Europe that barely in our own day has full recognition been accorded to the absolutely certain character of the evidence adduced. It was in 1625 that the Jesuits, who had been labouring in China since 1582 under such leaders as Father Matthew Ricci and Fathers Rho and Schall, heard of the accidental discovery in the province of Chen-si of an important bilingual monument,¹ buried for many centuries, which contained an exposition of a doctrine and way of life apparently identical with Christianity. The discovery had been made in a part of China into which none of the missionaries had yet penetrated. Father N. Trigault, however, established himself in Si-ngan-fou in that same year 1625, and he seems to have been the first European to set eyes upon the monument itself. The earliest account of the discovery transmitted to Europe was most probably that of Father Emmanuel Diaz, contributed to the *Annual Letters* for the year 1625, and dispatched to the Jesuit Superiors in Rome on March 1, 1626. This account seems worthy of being reproduced in full. It may be mentioned that it was an official report intended primarily for the eyes of the Jesuit *Curia* only. After speaking of Father Trigault's arrival in Si-ngan-fou, the letter continues:

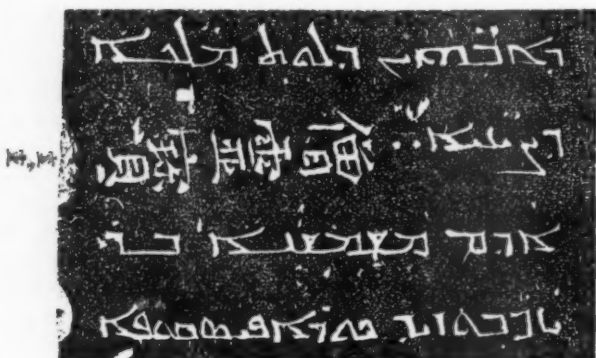
In that province has recently been found a stone monument proving that the holy Gospel was preached in China in ages far remote. If things take a favourable turn this discovery may lead to most important results. The metropolis of Chen-si is called Si-ngan, that is to say "the Resting-place of the West." In the suburbs, the ministers of one of the three Chinese religions own a monastery where this stone tablet is now preserved. A judge who is a great friend of Dr. Leo [a Chinese man of letters who was a convert to Christianity] having heard of this monument, and guessing that it represented the same religion as that of which the latter had spoken to him, sent him an accurate copy of the text, just as it appeared upon the stone. As soon as this came into Dr. Leo's hands, he had it printed. Dr. Paul [another convert] did the same, and also communicated it to our Fathers, bidding them translate it into Portuguese. Several of them at once set about the task, and they found that it was written in Chinese verse² [*sic*] with many characters of doubtful meaning and a number of

¹ The text of the inscription on the face of the monument is almost entirely Chinese, but on the edges and margin, data, consisting largely of lists of names and titles, are added in estrangelo Syriac characters.

² It is true that the latter part of the inscription is in verse.

pagan phrases very difficult to understand, besides the metaphors and different allusions that are found therein. It has consequently been impossible to make a copy in time to send it to your Paternity.

Up to the present only the general drift of the inscription has been made out. It is true that Father Trigault has been instructed to repair to the place where the monument is kept, the Doctors having omitted to transcribe some necessary details. It is to be hoped that in this way we shall obtain a proper copy. As soon as we have anything satisfactory I will send it to your Paternity at once.¹



Specimen of the Syriac characters mingled with the Chinese text on the Si-ngan-fou monument.

It is noteworthy that here the bilingual character of the inscription is not directly mentioned, and it may be added that any one who takes the pains to trace the sequence of the accounts transmitted to Europe will readily perceive that the Syriac portions of the text, instead of being appealed to as the most conclusive proof of the authenticity of the monument, proved a sad crux to the early interpreters, missionaries as well as natives. To say the truth hardly any priest then in China possessed the necessary knowledge. Syriac was a language but little studied even in Europe. The learned

¹ See H. Havret, S.J., *La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, Part II., (*Variétés Sinologiques*, No. 12), Chang-Hai, 1897, p. 58. This important monograph, which reflects the greatest credit upon the scholarship of the little band of Jesuit missionaries at Shanghai, was unfortunately left incomplete by the death of the author. Part I. contains the text in facsimile. Part II. the history and description of the monument. Part III. Father Havret's translation and commentary, so far as completed, with an appendix of documents.

Father John Terrenz, S.J., however, a Swiss by birth, made a most creditable attempt to read and interpret the Syriac additions,¹ but by some accident his copy, despatched from China in 1629, seems never to have reached Rome or to have been known to Father Kircher. Seeing that it was the *China Illustrata* of this eccentric scholar which was regarded in some sort as the official exposition in Europe of the Si-ngan-fou inscription, and that Father Kircher's knowledge of Syriac was inferior to that of Father Terrenz, it will be readily understood that down to quite modern times the Semitic portion of the monument had not been adequately studied. Indeed, the name lists on the edges were hardly even known.

Despite these drawbacks and despite certain notable contradictions in the accounts of the monuments furnished by Kircher and others,² there is little excuse to be offered for the attitude of distrust maintained for more than three centuries by almost the majority of European scholars. That Protestants and infidels, men like George Horn, Spizelius and Voltaire, should have denounced the whole discovery as a fraud or forgery of the Jesuits is not unintelligible, but it is much harder to comprehend the attitude of Catholics like Navarrete and some others. The whole story, indeed, if it could be told in detail, would form one of the most curious chapters in the history of religious prejudice. At the present day, when rubbings and facsimiles of the inscription have been made accessible to all, there is not a single sinologist of repute who would pretend to cast the slightest doubt upon the authenticity of the Si-ngan-fou monument. Protestant missionaries like Drs. Wylie, Medhurst and Edkins, eminent professors of all nationalities, e.g., F. Hirth, Legge, Chavannes, Parker, Marquart and innumerable others, native Chinese scholars without a single known exception, proclaim the high value of the inscription not only for the historical record which it preserves, but as a choice specimen of the phraseology and script of the T'ang dynasty, often regarded as a sort of golden age. None the less, the bitter prejudice of certain German orientalists associated with the early years of the *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, notably of I. J. Schmidt and C. F. Neumann, has so deeply impressed itself upon the public mind that down to within the last few years many who

¹ See Havret, Part II., pp. 154, seq., and 328. A copy of Father Terrenz's translation is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

² See Havret, *l.c.* Part II., pp. 39-45, and 48-52.

were not experts in sinology felt constrained to express themselves doubtfully. Renan, in his *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (1855), was of the number, but in a subsequent edition (1863) of the same work he retracted his former opinion.¹ Still more surprising, and, one may add, still less justifiable, was the hesitating attitude of Cardinal Hergenroether in the earlier editions of his Church History, where, speaking of the Si-ngan-fou monument, he says that "its authenticity, though often maintained, has not yet been demonstrated."² And to this we may add an echo preserved in a much more recent non-Catholic work of a rather pretentious order. As the passage gives a summary account of the inscription itself it will be convenient, perhaps, to quote it entire :

This tablet [says Dr. W. F. Adeney] is entitled "A monument commemorating the introduction and the propagation of the noble law of Ta t'sin in the middle kingdom." In the upper part there is an incised cross, beneath which is an inscription in Syriac and Chinese, first setting forth a vague abstract of Christian doctrine and then recording the chief events of a Syrian mission in China. It tells how a missionary named Olopun came from Judæa to China in the year 636, having escaped great dangers by sea and land, and was met by an official of the emperor and lodged in the imperial palace, where his law was examined, with the result that its truth was acknowledged. Thereupon, according to the inscription, the emperor issued an edict in favour of Christianity, ordered a church to be built, and nominated twenty-one persons to serve it. So much for the beginnings. Then follows a chronicle of the mission from the year 636 to the year 780 (in the inscription 1092 of the Greek era). At first there was success, and the Christians prospered unmolested. This went on for two generations. In the year 699 there came a change and the Church was persecuted; a second persecution broke out fourteen years later, after which the Christians again entered on a happy time. This was under the Emperor Hiuen-cum. At a later time a second mission appeared, in consequence of which many churches were built and Christianity

¹ See the work named, 4th Ed., Paris, 1863, pp. 288—290. He had formerly based his objections against the authenticity of the monument upon arguments furnished by M. Stanislas Julien, but the latter also fully owned his error. See Havret, ii, pp. 308, 309.

² We take this on the authority of Father Havret, who apparently had only seen the French translation of Hergenroether. The third edition of the German original, which we have consulted, says, on the contrary, that "the spuriousness of the monument, though often asserted, has never yet been proved," which is a very different thing. Probably the difficulty is explained by some chance inadvertence of the French translator.

was patronized by a succession of emperors. The tablet also contains a list of the clergy.¹

After this summary, Dr. Adeney proceeds to make the following criticism:

The antiquity and genuineness of this tablet are not altogether above suspicion. It might be expected that if so great progress had been made in early times, more indications of it would be apparent in the present day. The account of the notice taken of this mission by the emperors and their active patronage and assistance is certainly remarkable; it calls for confirmation that is not forthcoming. Accordingly, some have held that the whole thing is an impudent fraud of the Jesuits.² That, however, is highly improbable. What motive would these zealous proselytes [*sic!* Does Dr. Adeney mean proselytizers?] of the papal party have had for producing false evidence in favour of the venerable antiquity and former high status of the Syrian Church? Besides we have other evidence of the existence of Christianity in China not far from the times of the tablet.³

Dr. Adeney, though he tells us that the active patronage shown by the T'ang Emperors to Christianity "calls for confirmation which is not forthcoming," proceeds to specify one or two points in which confirmatory evidence is after all to be found. The few headings, however, which he indicates by no means adequately represent the immense mass of testimony which may now be quoted to support, not only the preaching of Christianity in Central Asia by Nestorian missionaries, but also the introduction of Manichæism, apparently as a separate religion, which similarly met with a certain measure of patronage from Chinese imperial rulers. To dwell upon the subject here or upon the possible revelations to be expected from the vast hoard of manuscripts recently discovered by Dr. M. A. Stein in the cave-temple of the "Thousand Buddhas" near Tun-Huang in Turkestan, would only be a digression in the present connection.⁴ It may be permissible, we hope, to return to the topic in a future article. Meanwhile the Text of the supremely interesting Christian inscription at Si-ngan-fou, brought to light by the Jesuits nearly three hundred years

¹ W. F. Adeney, Principal of Lancashire College, Manchester, *The Greek and Eastern Churches* (International Theological Library), Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1908, pp. 533—534.

² Dr. Adeney adds in a note, "Renan was very dubious about it, see *Hist. Lang. Semit.*, p. 202."

³ W. F. Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, Edinburgh, 1908, p. 534.

⁴ See M. A. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay* (London, 1912), vol. ii, pp. 162, ff.

ago, is not likely to be so familiar to our readers as to preclude us from attempting a new translation of it. The present writer, of course, makes no pretence to a knowledge of Chinese, but such a knowledge is not now of supreme necessity. Besides the scholarly versions published by Wylie, Legge, Heller, and others, the recent important monograph of Father Havret in the *Variétés Sinologiques* supplies an immense amount of material for the revision of all pre-existing renderings. It is only by slow degrees that the verbose and allusive phraseology of the original can be made to render up all its secrets. The composition of the eulogy and dissertation being the work of a Chinese scholar steeped in the philosophical ideas of his age, it borrows, at every turn, as Fathers Havret and Hoang have shown, from the classical treatises of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism. In a language so amorphous and wanting in precision as the Chinese, it is only in the recognition of these allusions that any hope is to be found of reaching an exact interpretation. Some four hundred of these allusions and parallels with the canonical literature of the period have been catalogued, and it may be regarded as established that the author, whose undivided allegiance to Christianity seems not to be wholly out of question,¹ inclined when touching upon points of ritual or religious practice to adopt the conventional phraseology of the Buddhists, while Taoism more readily supplied the vocabulary for abstract and metaphysical ideas. In any case it is well to insist, with Dr. Wylie, who speaks in this matter with unusual competence, that

the peculiarities of the T'ang style are found very clearly marked in the Nestorian inscription so as to afford the most convincing proof to the minds of native scholars. The influence of the three national sects may be traced in the phraseology. That the author was one of the literary class there is no room to doubt, as the work bespeaks one well versed in Confucian lore. . . . The tenets of the Christian faith are clothed in an elegance of diction unobjectionable even to Chinese taste.²

Speaking, however, of the personality of the author of the inscription, it seems well to note here a mention of him in Chinese literature which is among the most remarkable of the innumerable confirmations which modern research has brought to light, to establish, if that were any longer needed, the entire

¹ He is known, as will be explained below, to have aided in the translation of a Buddhist Sûtra.

² Wylie in *Journal of American Oriental Society*, vol. v. p. 334.

authenticity of the monument. Near the beginning of the inscription itself we are told that this Eulogium was "composed by King-Tsing, priest of the Ta Ts'in (*i.e.*, Christian) monastery," and close beside this statement is added the entry in Syriac characters, "Adam, priest, chorepiscopus and pappas of Sinistan (China)." It was at one time doubted whether these phrases referred to two different people, or whether they are merely the Chinese and Syriac designations of the same individual. There can be little doubt that the latter solution is to be preferred, for it seems to be the law in the inscription to give the Syriac names of those Christians who are mentioned in the Chinese text. Moreover, this conclusion is strongly confirmed by the interesting discovery of Dr. Takakusu in a contemporary Buddhist writing (a copy is in the Bodleian Library) of a passage which he translates as follows:

Prajna, a Buddhist of Kapisa (N. India), travelled to Canton and came to the upper province (North) in A.D. 782. He translated together with King-ting [this is Adam, the author of our Nestorian inscription], a Persian priest of the Ta-ts'in [*i.e.*, Christian] monastery, the Satparamita-Sutra from a Hu text and finished translating seven volumes.

But because at that time Prajna was not familiar with the Hu language, nor understood the Chinese language, and as King-Tsing did not know the Brahma language [Sanskrit] nor was he versed in the teaching of the Sakya, so though they pretended to be translating the text, yet they could not in reality extract a half of its gems [*i.e.*, its real meanings]. They were seeking vain glory privately, and wrongly trying their luck. They presented a memorial (to the Emperor) expecting to get it propagated. The Emperor [*i.e.*, Te-tsung, 780—804], who was intelligent, wise and accomplished, and who revered the canon of the Sakya, examined what they had translated and found that the principles contained in it were obscure and the wording was diffuse.²

"Moreover, the Sangharama of the Sakya and the Ta-ts'in monastery differing much in their customs, and their religious practices being entirely opposed to each other, King-Tsing ought to hand down the teaching of Mi-shi-ho [a phonetization of Messiah], and the Sakyaputriya-Sramanas should propagate the sutras of the Buddha. It is to be wished that the boundaries of

¹ The work is entitled, *Ch'eng-yüan-Sin-ting Shi-hiao-muh-luh*. Dr. Takakusu's note appears in *Young Pao*, vol. vii, p. 589.

² Dr. Takakusu considers that what follows is probably a quotation from an imperial edict issued to embody the Emperor's judgment concerning the translation submitted to him.

the doctrines may be made distinct and the followers may not intermingle. Orthodoxy and heterodoxy are different things, just as the rivers King and Wei have a different course."

It seemed worth while to quote in full the account of this contemporary Buddhist author not only because it tells us something about King-Tsing, the writer of the inscription, but because it illustrates that eclecticism of the Emperors in religious matters which made the establishment of Nestorian Christianity in the heart of China a perfectly natural development. Whether King-Tsing was really a Persian, as stated, does not seem clear. But the following point is of great interest. In the historical part of our inscription we find mention of a certain "greatly virtuous Ki-lie" who in the year 712 was associated with the chief priest Lohan. Both these had come from the west and bravely faced the storm of persecution which was at that time raging. Now in the treatise *Tch'e fou yuen koei*, under the year 732, we learn that the King of Persia sent his officer P'an-na-mi and "the greatly virtuous" monk Ki-lie to carry tribute to the Emperor of China and pay him homage, while a little further on it is stated that these Persian envoys were most courteously received by the Emperor, and that the monk was presented with a violet *kasaya* and with fifty pieces of fine silk before he was dismissed to return to his own country. M. Ed. Chavannes regards it as practically certain that this envoy was identical with "the greatly virtuous" Nestorian monk of the inscription.¹

One further remark may be added here regarding the form of Christianity which was professed by these missionaries from the West. The inscription itself, though containing one or two obscure phrases which might suggest a doubt as to the writer's perfect orthodoxy, cannot be said to enunciate any doctrine that bears a plainly heretical colouring. It was natural, then, that the early translators and commentators should vigorously combat the suggestion that the monument was of Nestorian origin. None the less, the historical data supplied by the Syriac portions of the inscription prove beyond all doubt that the Christian community of Si-ngan-fou depended upon the Nestorian patriarch of Seleucia, who actually resided under Mohammedan protection at Bagdad. Apart from the mere lists of names of the Christian clergy there is nothing of moment in the Syriac portion of the monument beyond the following clear piece of testimony:

¹ See *Journal Asiatique*, 1897, vol. i. pp. 53, 54.

In the year 1092 of the Greeks [*i.e.*, A.D. 781] Mar Iezdebuzid, priest and chorepiscopus of the royal city Cumdan [this was the Mohammedan name for Si-ngan-fou], son of the late Milis, priest of Balk, a town of Techoristan, erected this table of stone on which are inscribed the dispensation of our Saviour and the preaching of our Fathers to the King of the Chinese.

In the days of the Father of Fathers, Mar Hananieshu, Catholicus, Patriarch.¹

Now it is beyond dispute that Hananieshu II. was undoubtedly the prelate who governed the Nestorian Church with the title of Catholicus Patriarch (*gadoliga patriarchis*) from 775 to 779.² The date of this patriarch's death is not quite certain, but his successor, Timotheus I., was consecrated May 7, 780, and it is intelligible enough that the news of the death of the Catholicus had not yet reached Si-ngan-fou when the monument was engraved in 781. Moreover, there is abundant evidence in the still extant letters of this new patriarch Timotheus that the Nestorian Church at that time possessed missions in lands as far distant as Turkestan and China.³ It is needless to develop the point. Timotheus in his writings on ecclesiastical law even assumes that if a woman's husband deserted her and ran away to foreign climes, no matter how distant, she had no business to marry again until she had been certified of his death through their own (Nestorian) clergy, for they had missionaries everywhere, even in far-off India and China, who would be able to make inquiries and ascertain the truth.⁴ No doubt this is a preposterous exaggeration, but even an exaggeration of this kind must be based upon some slight foundation of fact, and as already hinted, the extension of the Nestorian Church at this period throughout all Central Asia is now established by a profusion of texts and allusions in early Chinese literature, before which the most prejudiced scepticism must own itself routed.⁵

And now we may turn to the Christian monument itself. A general idea of its appearance may be obtained from the accompanying reproduction of Father Havret's frontispiece,

¹ See *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (1895), vol. xii. p. 125.

² So J. Labourt, *De Timotheo I. Nestorianorum Patriarcha* (Paris, 1904), p. 7. Cf. Lamy, in *Mémoires de l'Académie de Belgique*, vol. liii. (1898), p. 96.

³ See Labourt, *l.c.* pp. 45-49. Cf. *Oriens Christianus*, No. 2, p. 308.

⁴ Labourt, *l.c.* p. 64.

⁵ Several of these texts have been translated by Dr. Hirth in his *China and the Roman Orient*, and still more by Father L. Wieger, S.J., in the third volume of his *Textes historiques*.

prefixed to the first part of his great monograph. The stone itself is nearly seven feet high, crowned with a tiny cross almost lost beneath the imposing convolutions of the interlacing dragons at its head. The anterior surface is inscribed with close upon 1,800 Chinese characters, representing several pages of text in any modern European language. A



The small incised cross upon the summit of the Si-ngan-fou monument.

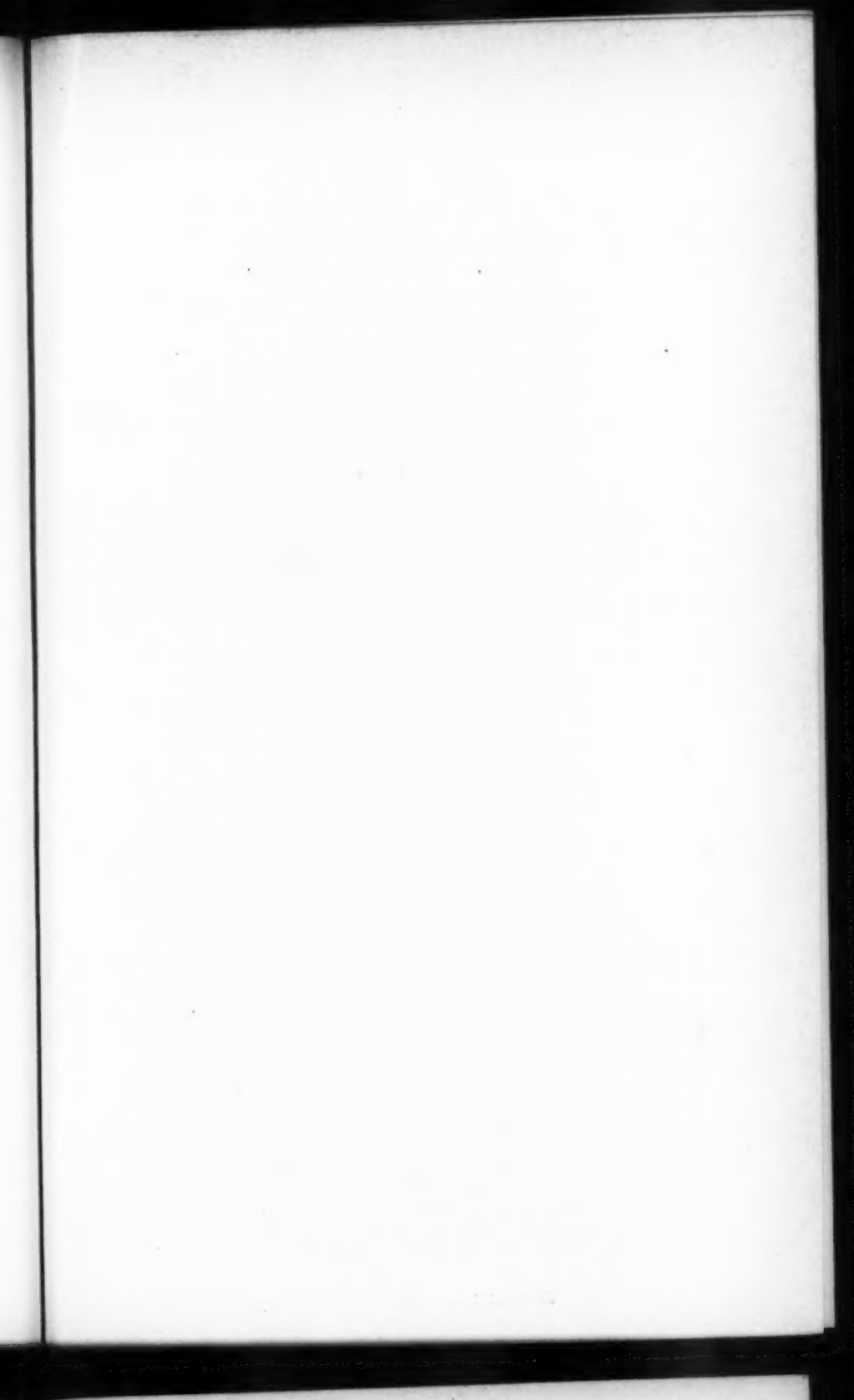
title in nine huge characters, three in a row, is conspicuous from afar, but the heading is repeated in terms substantially identical down the first or right hand column of the writing. The monument, formerly much neglected and exposed to the weather in the suburbs of Si-ngan-fou, has of late years been moved within the city and placed under cover.¹ It may be added that monumental inscriptions of this size and style of composition are by no means rare. They are found in many parts of China, and belong to almost all periods. But here without further preliminaries let us try to make known the contents of the inscription itself.

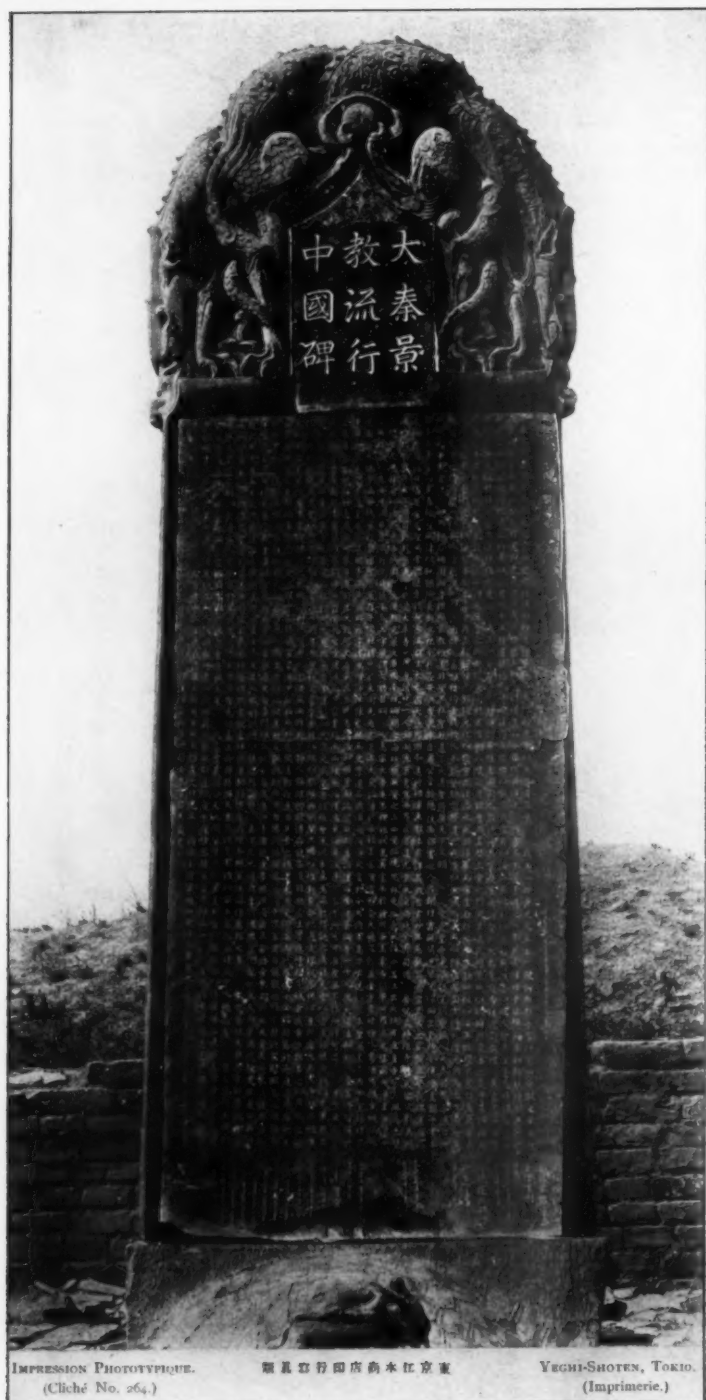
Monument commemorating the diffusion of the illustrious religion of Ta Ts'in (i.e. Christianity) in the Middle Kingdom.

Eulogium, with dissertation annexed, upon the illustrious religion propagated in the Middle Kingdom. Composed by King-Tsing, priest of the monastery of Ta Ts'in.

Now verily (speak we) of the unchangeable and supremely peaceful, who is both the First and unoriginated, an incomprehensible and pure spirit, and the Last and survivor of all things, most

¹ An account of this removal has been given by Dr. Frits v. Holm in a pamphlet by P. Carus on "the Nestorian Monument," printed at Chicago in 1909.





The Christian monument of Si-ngan-fou.

wonderful in His essence. He, the pivot of being, is the author of creation; He is magnified in His saints, but is Himself the great adorable. Is He not the admirable substance of our Trinity in Unity,¹ the unoriginated true Lord Alaha² [Elohim]?

Separating the four cardinal points in space by the extremities the character +, He imparted movement to the primitive ether and thus produced the twofold principle.³ The darkness and the void were transformed and from that time appeared the heaven and the earth. The sun and the moon were set rolling upon their courses and the succession of nights and days began.

Then after fashioning the universe with workmanlike skill, He made the first man, endowing him with the harmony of all good qualities and conferring upon him the dominion of the whole of creation. In its primitive purity, human nature was humble and not puffed up; alike simple and exalted, it was free from inordinate desires.

But it happened that Satan⁴ (*So-tan*) scattering deceptions broadcast, tricked himself out as an angel of light and making a breach in this moral harmony, he infected it with the counterpart of his own confusion and discord. Hence there arose innumerable [literally, three hundred and sixty-five] forms of error, jostling one another and gyrating in the same recurrent grooves, each the while spreading the snares of its own law. Some set up material things as the object of their worship;⁵ others denied all reality to being, plunging into vain superstition,⁶ others set their heart on happiness and sought it by prayers and sacrifices;⁷ while others again made a parade of virtue but for no better end than to impose upon their neighbours.⁸ The calculations of human wisdom being always brought into play and the passions of the heart continually alert, they tortured themselves with feverish anxiety though attaining no result. Thus the darkness grew deeper in the way of perdition which they followed, and the return to right thinking was the longer postponed.

¹ There can be no doubt whatever about the intentional character of this reference to the Trinity. The very form of the Chinese characters, three lines and one line (*san-i*) by which it is indicated, make the meaning plain. The combination is older in Chinese literature than the date of the inscription, but it would be quite unwarrantable to argue back from this with Father Prémare (*Vestiges des principaux Dogmes chrétiens*, pp. 89, 90) to a primitive revelation of the doctrine of the Trinity.

² There can be no doubt that this is a deliberate phonetization in Chinese of the Syriac term for God.

³ This, it must be owned, suggests the idea of a possible infiltration of Manichæism. ⁴ This is another remarkable phonetization.

⁵ This seems to be a hit at Taoism. Cf. *Sap.* xiii. 1, 2.

⁶ Here Buddhism is satirized.

⁷ Confucianism, which placed the object of hope in the happiness of the present life alone.

⁸ Can this be aimed at Manichæan asceticism? Cf. Pelliot in *Bulletin de l'Ecole française de l'Extrême Orient*, 1903, pp. 318 and 468, and Devéria in *Revue Asiatique*, 1897, ii. pp. 459, 460.

Meanwhile our Trinity-in-Unity set about to reproduce itself.¹ The illustrious and venerable Messiah (*Mi-chi-ho*)² veiling and concealing His august Majesty and taking upon Himself the likeness of man came into this world. The angelic powers proclaimed the good tidings; a Virgin brought forth the Holy One in Ta-Ts'in. A bright star announced the happy birth, The Persians (*Po-se*) saw its splendour and came to offer their gifts.

He fulfilled the ancient dispensation as it had been written down by the twenty-four holy men.³ He announced His great schemes for the due ordering of families and kingdoms. He founded the new religion which the Trinity in Unity, the most pure spirit, expresses not so much in written words as in the practice of virtue guided by true belief. He instituted the law of the eight moral conditions to purify the active faculties of man and to bring saints to perfection.⁴ He flung wide open the portals of the three sublime principles,⁵ revealing life and overthrowing death. He suspended on high the radiant sun⁶ to dissipate the empire of darkness, and from this hour the contrivances of the devil were brought to nought. He was the rower who brought to land the bark of mercy. Thence raising Himself up to the abode of light He rescued from destruction all men that had souls to save. When His works of power had been accomplished, in full meridian daylight the God Man ascended into heaven. He left behind Him the twenty-seven books of the Scriptures,⁷ in the which is elaborated a wondrous discipline for the deliverance of the soul.

As it would not be possible in the present article to include the whole of the text of this most remarkable monument of early Oriental faith, the termination of the account of our Saviour's mission will afford a convenient halting-place. The brief summary of Christian practice which follows, and the narrative of the preaching of the Gospel in China, with the subsequent fortunes of the Church there, must be reserved for consideration on a future occasion.

HERBERT THURSTON.

¹ This passage has been much suspected, but seemingly without sufficient reason, of Nestorian venom. Wylie translates: "Our Trinity, being divided in nature." Legge: "He divided His Godhead." But Havret renders: "Cependant notre Trinité s'est comme multipliée," which implies nothing heretical, and seems to be thoroughly justified by the literary evidence he appeals to.

² Another phonetization; we have already met it above, but with a different Chinese character for the middle syllable, in the Buddhist writer quoted by Dr. Takakusu.

³ This seems to be a reference to the authors of the books contained in the Old Testament Canon, according to the Jewish school of Babylon.

⁴ Possibly the eight beatitudes are here alluded to.

⁵ The theological virtues?

⁶ No doubt a veiled reference to the Crucifixion. Cf. Jo. xii. 32. "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all things to myself."

⁷ The New Testament only is here in question.

Those of his own Household.¹

MADAME CORENTINE.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE front garden was well kept. The piece of ground at the back, which was reached by four steps leading from the paved courtyard outside the offices, was much bigger, and laid out as a kitchen garden. This was only attended to once a week, by a job gardener. He turned up the earth, sowed seed, and lopped trees when required, Gote and Fantic gathering the results of his work in due course. Weeds abounded there, with nothing to check them, but the linnets, finches, and thrushes would hang on to the tallest stems and break them down with the weight of their little bodies. Grass grew principally in the paths, for the subsoil had been originally all cultivated, and vegetables grew in great profusion, crowding out everything else. Pumpkins on great expanses of manure, leeks standing up like swords, thickets of carrot-top fern, and above all, beans of every sort and kind, dwarf or giant. Next came rows of sweet peas carefully arranged on wooden lathes, these generally flowered white, the winged blossoms looking like so many little Breton caps.

When Simone awoke, on the morning after her arrival, her first idea was to revisit the garden. Her grandmother would probably be at Mass, and her father asleep, as she heard no one stirring. She went down, hardly waiting to plait her hair, a pair of scissors in her hand.

"Good morning, Gote and Fantic!" she cried, as she passed the kitchen door. Fantic answered, and Gote grumbled out something; both stared at her, crossing the courtyard and the moss-grown steps, for the kitchen garden was their own special domain, which neither Madame Jeanne nor M. L'Héréc ever entered. But the girl had always roamed there freely, as she well remembered.

¹ Translated from the French of René Bazin, by L. M. Leggatt.

As she made her way through the tangle of vegetation, following the narrow, uneven paths streaming with dew in the morning sun, she felt again the strange sensation of solitude, almost of awe, which the garden gave her as a child. She walked under the vine-covered west wall, remembering that when her mother picked grapes she would always leave the green foliage behind with a natural taste for colour and vernal beauty. Farther away was the pond, always a forbidden spot. "Now, Simone, you're not to go near. It's very dangerous." L'Héréec would hold her back by her skirts when she was yards away from the water, running in front of her parents. Simone remembered the young couple, as they were then, always talking in whispers behind her. Sometimes they would go into the box arbour. She tried to go in, but alas, the tufts of box had grown right across the opening, making an impenetrable barrier. She pushed her way in, head held low, and found herself inside the great green pyramid. The top was so thickly overgrown that she could not stand upright, thin patches of moss covered the ground in places, no one ever came to the arbour now for shade; it was left to spiders who spun their webs there, or field mice to hide their winter hoards. Simone's heart ached, as if with a sense of ingratitude.

She got out of the arbour, and began angrily to cut bunches of the iris which grew near the entrance. L'Héréec had once been fond of flowers, and there were the remains of a quantity of iris, gladiola and flags bought and cultivated with great expense and care.

When she had picked quite a sheaf, Simone came back by the left, listening to the noise of navigation on the Guer and the chatter of the poultry-women jolting along in their carts in the road outside the garden wall. The sun was shining full in front of her, illuminating the pink and yellow spirals of blossom which she carried in her lifted skirt. Her father watched her coming from the courtyard; he had already been seeking her.

"There you are, my darling!"

She came down the steps, holding her dress out in both hands, to show her spoils.

L'Héréec kissed her. "Flowers!" he exclaimed. "My poor Simone, it's a long time since any flowers were brought into the house. . . . What is the matter? You look sad."

She fixed her clear, honest glance on him.

"I found the garden so terribly neglected," she said, "and it reminded me——"

Her father's face grew stern. "What did it remind you of, Simone?"

She was silent, and blushed because he did not volunteer any remark.

"Don't recall all that!" he said at last, reproachfully. "You didn't come to make me unhappy, did you? Run along, child, and arrange your flowers in the drawing-room vases. I am going to the factory."

Simone went indoors, a little disconcerted at her father's reluctance to recall the past. It seemed so easy to the young girl for people to forgive and forget! Her ideal father was the soul of generosity. How could the real flesh and blood father have failed to give her any grounds of hope? Why did he become obstinately dumb directly anything recalled Madame Corentine? So far she could not persuade herself that she had revived anything but useless reproach and painful retrospection. It seemed as if he were mutely begging her not to trifle uselessly with his feelings.

But these gloomy reflections did not last long. As Simone was arranging her flowers in the drawing-room, she saw Fantic, and gave her a telegram to send to grandfather Guen, telling him in a way he would understand that she had been made welcome and was staying on. She felt more than ever pledged to carry through the mission of filial love she had undertaken on her own initiative. But how was she to set about it? Would she succeed? This was her uncertainty. One thing, however, she had already learned in her short experience of the *rôle* of peacemaker, and that was to avoid unnecessary allusion to those mysteriously unhappy years now past and gone. She resolved to be patient, good-tempered and helpful, hoping that her father and Madame Jeanne, even if they did not openly acknowledge it, would be forced to admit to themselves that her mother had trained her well.

Thus a new life began for the inmates of the old Lannion house. Not only did flowers once more garnish the empty rooms, but gradually a more cheerful atmosphere and a sense of relaxation from Madame Jeanne's oppressive influence began to make themselves felt.

Simone did not go out for the first few days. She asked Madame Jeanne for some needlework, and sat working between lunch and dinner, when they all three met at table.

Solitude did not seem irksome to her. The young girl felt very peaceful, and happy at reinstating herself in her former home. She was growing more self-possessed, and able to meet her father cheerfully when he came home from the factory, tired and usually rather depressed. He revived at the sight of his daughter; she would talk to him of what she had seen or thought about, describing all the little incidents of the morning or afternoon, and by questioning him about Lannion, or even Tréguier, force him to rouse himself. Meal-times, during which the only conversation had been business or local gossip discussed between mother and son, were now prolonged intervals of cheerful relaxation, and L'Héréec resumed his old habit of coming home by a short cut. The little boat crossed the Guer twice a day, as in Mme. Corentine's time. Even the evenings seemed shorter; the setting sun was still warm, and all three would sit under the lilac-trees together. Sometimes, before she could stop herself, Simone would say, "We used to do so and so, we liked such and such a thing." But the thought of the absent mother, subtly present in a vague, impersonal sense, was gradually filtering through the attractive personality of the daughter, and the approval shown to Simone reflected a little credit on Corentine. Every sign, however slight, of the old resentment abating made Simone rejoice in her inmost heart, as if Corentine were smilingly sending her a secret signal from the distance.

Madame Jeanne herself, at first deeply mistrustful of possible plots, and secret understandings between Simone and her father, was daily losing some of her prejudice. She had made up her mind that a little girl brought up by her daughter-in-law was bound to be frivolous and deceitful, and taken up with vanity and pleasure-seeking. Instead, she found her grand-daughter sensible, skilful in such womanly tasks as the old lady deemed indispensable, simple in her tastes, and quite ready to submit to the acknowledged mistress of the house. It was this last attitude which helped more than anything else to alter Madame Jeanne's opinion. She still visited the factory every morning as usual, but in the afternoons she now allowed Simone to come and work beside her, in either the drawing-room or the large brown chamber where Monsieur Jobie's portrait hung. Then, as a young girl of Simone's age could not spend all the time indoors, and people were already gossiping because she was not seen about

with her grandmother, Madame Jeanne began to take her out; though much against the grain. The few old people she visited daily were naturally the most prejudiced against Corentine. She felt somewhat embarrassed at having to produce Simone without any valid explanation of how she came to be in the L'Héréec's house at the time. But to her surprise neither Mesdemoiselles Le Gallic, old Madame de Pleumeur, nor Monsieur Quimerc'h, the banker, one of her oldest friends, seemed surprised when Simone and Madame Jeanne called together. They knew the girl was in Lannion, and had expected to see her. So little physical resemblance was there between Simone and her mother that they quickly merged past memories in that feeling of half-envious curiosity which generally greets the entrance of a very young girl into a circle of antiquated fogies. They expressed admiration in a low voice when seeing Madame Jeanne to the door. "Your grand-daughter will do you credit, dear Madame! And what a comfort to poor Guillaume! Is she staying with you for long? Bring her whenever you like! . . ."

In the evening the father would ask what Madame de Pleumeur and her cronies had said, and Madame Jeanne admitted that the verdict was very favourable. She would cheerfully discuss the weather and the people they had met out of doors, appealing to Simone with the normal grandmotherly condescension. Guillaume L'Héréec, after the first moment of pride in his little daughter and her powers of attraction, began to dread that after old prejudices were laid to rest and the old home made habitable, she would have to go home. He had the true temperament of the visionary, and the idea that his happiness might only be temporary prevented his tasting more than an uneasy joy. Always questioning the future and meeting trouble half way, he was now beginning to be haunted with the prospect of possible parting, and the inevitable loneliness, far worse than any he had known yet, which must follow. His gloomy Breton nature was brooding over the pang of losing Simone after this glimpse, without the assurance of getting her back. The idea pursued him through all his business hours, and directly Simone was out of his sight. He wondered how he should bear to miss her voice calling good morning to him through the wall of the next room, and her footstep on the worm-eaten boards. Sometimes he felt tempted to call the girl to him during some temporary absence of Madame Jeanne, and speak plainly to her.

"Listen," he heard himself saying, "I feel I couldn't bear to part with you, or live without you. Tell me if your mother would consent to live here, after being twice turned out? I feel that you are trying to bring us together: it is only because you are a loving daughter who does not wish to be a bone of contention between us any longer, or have you any reason to know that she would come back? Tell me quickly, and let us put an end to this torture."

And every time he felt he could give the answer himself. "No, no, she wouldn't come! It's all over, my one opportunity has been lost. My wife came here, perhaps driven by poverty, as mother thinks, or by circumstances of which Simone is and must remain ignorant. I could have taken her in, but I was too irresolute, and now we are more disunited than before. Where would be the use of bringing her back? If even she consented, how am I to know that the old life would not begin again, with its struggles, its quarrels, its perpetual friction? It's true she has brought up our child well. . . . But is that any proof that she herself has changed for the better? Who is to say whether my little Simone's naïve gravity and serene good temper are not due to her own sweet nature far more than to any training she has received? Am I prepared deliberately to sacrifice my mother (who would certainly leave the house) to my wife, who perhaps will not bring any kind of happiness into my life?"

Sometimes he would recall Madame Jeanne's unfailing devotion, especially during the last ten trying years, and decide that he had no right to disturb Simone with painful questions so far beyond her years. He could not really make up his mind either way. After the crucial test in which his will had asserted itself, he had become his old irresolute and weak self. Afraid in different ways of each of the three women he loved, he took refuge in the inner citadel of his own soul, wasting his life and strength in plans, silent struggles, dreams and regrets.

One Sunday, about three months after her arrival, Simone and Madame Jeanne were finishing luncheon alone, L'Héréec having gone that morning to spend the day at Tréguier, when a loud peal at the bell echoed through the house. Simone went to the garden door, and came back red with excitement.

"It's grandfather Guen!" she said, "with . . ."

"With whom?"

"I think it's uncle Sullian, but I've never seen him. . . . They want me to come out to them."

"Have they come to fetch you, Simone?"

The young girl saw to her surprise that Madame Jeanne had turned very pale.

"I don't suppose so," she said, "in fact I know they haven't. They've come to see me."

Madame Jeanne, who had herself perfectly under control, immediately resumed her usual manner, but not before her grand-daughter had noticed her sudden movement of apprehension.

"You can ask them to be good enough to come into the drawing-room," said the old lady, "I shall be very pleased if they will, for I have a great respect for Monsieur Guen. . . . I shall be in my own room."

Simone ran out. In the framework of the little ivy porch stood Guen, his clear-eyed gaze taking in the whole garden with its clumps of trees and winding paths. Before she even kissed him, Simone hurriedly gave her grandmother's message with great glee. But Guen drew back a few yards, so as to be clear of the house, and kissed his grandchild affectionately.

"I cannot enter any house where my daughter is not received," he said quietly, "and your mother is not here."

The girl hung her head, and the smile faded from her lips.

"Come," said Guen, "put on your hat, and we'll go for a walk in the town. Sullian wanted to see you." With pride he pointed to a tall, fresh-coloured young man, his short red beard brushed into two points, who was standing bareheaded a few paces away, quite abashed at being told that such a grand young lady was his niece.

But ten minutes later all three were chatting familiarly together, Simone walking between the two captains as they went down the elm-bordered walk to the quay. Simone and Sullian had taken to each other at first sight. They were both young, and had something alike in their frank manner and open speech.

"Well, I was very nearly never being introduced to my niece!" exclaimed Sullian; "we foundered on the rocks on a pitch-dark night!"

"Don't! I can't bear to think of it!"

"Nonsense! Such luck gives one confidence. Look at your grandfather, he's been wrecked seven times on active service."

"Eight," put in Guen apologetically, "but only twice counted. The other times I was only upset out of my rowing boat in the bay."

"All the same, father, you beat me by numbers. And think of my having a month's leave, Simone! I've never had so long before."

"Have you just come from Bordeaux?"

"I arrived the day before yesterday, but I had to wait and settle the insurance business. I thought I should go wild at the delay."

"And was Marie-Anne glad to see you?"

"Ah, my child!" interrupted Guen, "I wish you could have seen her! Her happiness would have made you cry with joy."

Simone looked from one to the other; her grandfather with a solemn air of pride at belonging to a family that had come safely out of hair-breadth escapes, and Sullian smiling at her under his red moustache, as much as to say, "Yes, take a good look at me, little niece Simone; I am the shipwrecked sailor, the lost husband welcomed back with tears of joy, the man who thanks God he is alive to-day."

His face showed this so plainly that he thought it superfluous to mention the joy he had felt at seeing Marie-Anne again.

"And what about my baby? You don't say anything about *him*. He's a jolly little sand-boy, *isn't* he?"

The three walked along chatting, utterly oblivious of the gossips of Lannion. As it was a holiday, most of the shops were shut, but Sullian discovered a confectioner's where he bought an enormous cake for Marie-Anne, another for Simone, a third to send to his own father, and some sweets which he declared the baby should taste. He spent his money with a kind of frenzied joy, throwing the coins down for the sheer pleasure of hearing them ring on the counter. It was all life, and the fact of being alive half intoxicated the man so lately face to face with death.

They did not keep to any fixed destination, but wandered about the market-place, admiring the old houses with their shingled roofs like coats of mail, and then, loth to separate, went round by Brélévenez Church, in order to come back to the L'Héréec's house by the Perros Road. Guen had given Simone a letter from Corentine, containing news of Jersey, but no inquiries concerning L'Héréec or Madame Jeanne.

The Captain's reserved nature led him to follow his daughter's example. He refrained from questioning Simone on her doings, or on the possibility of her great project succeeding. He felt his advice useless, and so held his tongue. Just at the moment of parting, as he was kissing her, outside the closed door of the house, he asked if any one had been uncivil to her, and that was all.

When L'Héréec came back from Tréguier towards dinner time, he was rather agitated at hearing that Guen and Sullian had been so nearly coming into his mother's house. He made Simone describe the walk through Lannion, Sullian's shipwreck, and the return to Perros.

"I should have liked to see you all when the last telegram arrived, announcing the good news," he said.

"Yes," returned Simone naïvely, "at the mere thought Aunt Marie-Anne looked as if she were in Paradise!"

Humble little Marie-Anne, the little peasant of Perros, seemed destined to spread over whatever lives she came in contact with, her own atmosphere of peaceful fireside joys and gentle mysticism.

L'Héréec pondered deeply for hours over what he had heard of her. And Simone said to herself that the day had brought good fortune; Madame Jeanne had had a kind impulse, and her father had tears in his eyes when Sullian's return was described.

(To be continued.)

Miscellanea.

I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

The Prospects of Catholicism in England.

IN the current number of the *Oxford and Cambridge Review*, Mr. John Straight returns to his subject of the Future of Religion in England. In the previous article he gave his reasons for concluding that religion at present is steadily decaying in this country, and neither the Church of England nor registered Nonconformity are capable of resisting the process, in furthering which they are in fact themselves involved. That his conclusion so far is sound all careful observers must recognize, but then the question arises: "Is the decline to continue and the country to be wholly de-Christianized, as it must assuredly be if the balance of forces at work remains as it is at present, and has been for some twenty years or more, or can some change be made by means of which the losses which now go to unbelief may be diverted into some other channel?" It is this question which Mr. Straight investigates in his second article, with special reference to the Catholic Church, which he had already judged to be the one religion that, if not actually progressing, is at least holding its own. He thinks the place it has been found to hold in English life is "such as to warrant the conclusion that she alone can hope to hold a place of any real usefulness and importance in the future"; but he wishes to impress upon those who represent her that "this hope can be fulfilled only if she rouses herself to the task before her, for too much emphasis cannot be laid on the fact that she is not at present progressing;" and in this view he calls their attention to certain points which must be looked to if their Church is to make progress in sufficient proportions to respond to the present opportunity. They must not delude themselves into thinking that the present tolerance and even cordiality now so generally accorded to Catholics implies more than a growing indifference based on scepticism as to the spiritual and

political importance of all religions, nor must they overlook the increasing dislike for sacerdotalism which reveals itself alike in the educated and the working classes; nor again must they forget that the multiplication of their churches and schools, and the perfecting of their religious organization, is not necessarily the index of any real progress they are making among the general population. What they must do if they want really to progress, is to reduce the leakage by grappling more seriously with its underlying causes, to be more proof against the temptation to substitute the parochial for the missionary idea, and in their missionary efforts to be more alive to the changed attitude of English minds towards religious questions—realizing that these have ceased, save for a small minority, to take interest in the controversies between England and Rome, and want “something that will genuinely satisfy their desire for the spiritual, something that will restore order in the general moral and intellectual chaos.”

Mr. Straight has here some very good points which he works out in an instructive manner, and on the whole correctly. It is pleasant too to think that in a Review which is making good progress in winning the ear of the British public, such a subject should be so intelligently handled. Our own object in the present paper is to contribute to the further discussion of the question thus raised, by a slight comment on one or two of Mr. Straight's points, where he does not seem to us to have quite grasped the position.

And first as to his assumption that, inasmuch as its losses by leakage have balanced its gains by conversions, Catholicism has made no real progress in the country. Thus to balance leakage against conversions, as if they were correlatives, is, we would submit, illusory, for it forgets that conversions are wrought among earnest minds that are looking for the truth, and are prepared to make sacrifices in its pursuit when they find where it is; whereas leakage comes of the desire of negligent persons to emancipate themselves from irksome duties, and pursue the path of least resistance. If then it be true that the Catholic Church in England gains yearly by the accession of some 9,000 converts, but loses about the same number through leakage, at least it means that whilst she loses some 9,000 negligent members annually, she is able to fill up their places with a corresponding number of earnest adherents. That surely is a very solid gain; and it is also a very visible gain; for it is a very visible fact indeed that the

Church has gained immensely in the last few decades in the number of her *dévotés* (as the French call them), and of her zealous and self-sacrificing workers. But it may be said, is there not a set-off to the annual 9,000 conversions, made up of persons who, from motives of conviction, leave the Catholic Church for some other form of religion existing in the country? Has not the Bishop of Hull stated that the "conversions" from Romanism to Anglicanism, though less advertised, are at least as many as those from Anglicanism to Popery? To this we can only reply that we are not conscious of these numerous "conversions" from our ranks to those of Anglicanism, nor, especially when we reflect on the extreme readiness evinced to advertise the few dribblets in that direction of which we are conscious, are we disposed to believe that so many more of them remain unsung. That, too, seems to be Mr. Straight's opinion. It may be said more plausibly that of those who leave us for rationalism many are earnest men, actuated by the desire to be on the side of truth. We have our reasons for doubting whether this is often the case, but "all shallows are clear," as Dr. Johnson used to say, and the exponents of Catholicism are heavily handicapped when called upon to meet the cheap sophisms of the Rationalistic Press Association; and it may be that the immature minds that are captured by these sophisms are often in good faith, though even in such cases one is wont to note a defect of spiritual insight into the true value of Catholicism, usually the result of some form of spiritual negligence. But anyhow Mr. Straight admits that such cases form the exception, and the "ordinary case is that of the Catholic who has grown slack or indifferent," which is exactly what we are maintaining.

Still, whatever be the motives which cause the leakage, does it not remain true that the leakage does balance the conversions at least numerically, and moreover, that, even if there were no leakage, our annual gains of 9,000 are a mere drop in the ocean compared with the population of England? And is not Mr. Straight therefore justified in warning us that at this rate it would take us 4,000 years to convert the country? Against this it might perhaps be contended that 9,000 a year, supposing that to be the present figure, is a much higher average than we could have reckoned some fifty years ago, and so may be taken to foreshadow a proportionately higher average as probable in fifty years' time, if the same rate

of progress is maintained. But we would rather meet the friendly warning thus given us by deprecating altogether the notion that we expect in time to convert the whole, or even the major part, of the population of England. We cannot, it is true, foretell what future the Providence of God may have in store for the English people, and what measure of extraordinary lights and graces it may be designing to pour out upon them at some period to come. The Catholic extension and development we see around us at the present time far surpasses all that our forefathers of two centuries ago could have imagined, and a similarly pleasing surprise may await our own posterity. If, however, we are to rely on those human calculations which alone are possible to us, it seems most unlikely that, in the break-up of the sects around us, and the growth of the causes which make for religious indifference, we shall attain to becoming more than the one refuge in the country for those whose hearts respond readily to the need of God which is in us all. Still these will always be numerous, absolutely, if not comparatively, and in ministering to their need by making known what our Lord, through His revelation, has done to supply it, we shall certainly be holding a "place of real usefulness and importance in the future."

To this task then we must rouse ourselves, and Mr. Straight is right in thinking that we need to be roused to a fuller activity than at present. Leakage there will always be, for there will always be negligent people intermingled with the earnest; but we may do much to reduce it by perfecting our parochial and institutional organization, and this we may flatter ourselves that we have been and are doing to the extent of our power, which, indeed, is provokingly limited. Conversions we might surely do more to effect. It is noticeable that some of our churches and some of our priests are much more successful than others in effecting them. This is partly because some, among both the clergy and laity, have a special talent for attracting converts and instructing them; but largely also because some take much more interest in the work than others. If only this latter section could be roused up to recognize the importance of such work, it would not be so difficult for them to acquire the talent for dealing with inquirers, and a very appreciable increase in the number of converts might be hoped for. But Mr. Straight does a good service in emphasizing the need of adequate instruction for converts before they are allowed to be received. This is most import-

ant, and the Bishops are careful to insist on it. There is, indeed, an opposite error into which some priests fall, by keeping inquirers so long under instruction that eventually they lose all interest in the subject. But the greater danger is to receive them too quickly; and it is dangerous also to discontinue their instruction until some time after they have been received. If some, after reception, drift back, or as more often happens, drift away into indifference, this is frequently the cause. As for the duty of providing a new literature to meet the mentality of a generation concerned about other things than the Anglican controversy, reference to the C.T.S. catalogue shows that we are aware of the need, and are making vigorous efforts to meet it; and we could do more were it not that for one reason or another our big books, however convincing in themselves, can seldom hope to find a circulation which will even pay expenses. That we are aware of the necessity of missionary efforts carried outside the parochial organization, the Motor Mission movement may be cited to show. But those engaged in it are fully aware that all such enterprises can only serve to break ground. If they are to effect stable conversions the parochial system must quickly follow in their footsteps. This is, indeed, a point which Mr. Straight does not appear to have grasped. For we may say with truth that our hopes of solid advance are proportioned to the success with which we can perfect and solidify our parochial system—understanding this term in a broad sense.

S. F. S.

An Amende (plus ou moins) honorable.

If I had been asked for my opinion of Mr. Harold Begbie, before I read his latest book—*The Lady Next Door*—I should have been inclined to answer—"Oh, just another Hocking, only more objectionable than that romancer, because his experience, his education, and his literary distinction give greater force and wider vogue to his bigoted misrepresentations of Catholicism." And I could have pointed to many writings to bear out my statement, or better still, as a concentrated example, to certain articles and correspondence in the *Tablet* in the spring of 1908, wherein Mr. Begbie's essay on the Bible, in the *Children's Encyclopedia*, was denounced by Father H. Thurston and defended by its author. For, in the lat-

ter's contribution to the discussion, we had an excellent object-lesson in Protestant modes of thought—an initial misconception of the nature of the Church, an incapacity for distinguishing between use and abuse, a disposition to fasten on scandal in Catholics and ignore goodness, a vindication of a false and inconsistent freedom of thought, a ready acceptance of the whole lying Reformation tradition, the whole resulting naturally in a total misinterpretation of the history of the Church. Not that Mr. Begbie was insincere in what he wrote; he was but expressing the mentality of his class and showing himself, as so many do, unable to rise superior to the limitations of his education. It was this that made his case so apparently hopeless, and, speaking humanly, I should have as little expected him to modify his views about the Church, as Dr. Clifford to see reason on the Education question. But the unexpected has happened, and now I am no longer inclined to associate Mr. Begbie with Mr. Joseph Hocking. By his recent tour in Ireland, the results of which are described in his book, Mr. Begbie has been converted, or rather half-converted, to Catholicism. I say half-converted, for the simple reason that it is his heart, not his head, that has been changed: he has recognized in its effects the beauty of the Faith, but not, strangely enough, its truth. Before his travels he knew that Ireland was a Catholic country, he had imbibed the usual Protestant belief that the inhabitants were idle, thriftless, ignorant, degraded, priest-driven, and he had made the usual Protestant deduction. But to his amazement, he found the Catholics there—let me rather quote his own words, italicizing a few:

In Ireland I came face to face with this problem. In the South, where Catholic influence is supreme, the people are almost enchanting in their sweetness, entirely admirable in the beauty and contentment of their domestic life, wonderful beyond all other nations in the wholesomeness and sanctity of their chastity. . . . Instead of a lazy, thriftless, discontented people—as I had imagined them to be—the Irish of the South won my sympathy and compelled my admiration by qualities the very opposite. . . . The charm which every traveller feels in the south of Ireland is the character of the Irish people; and my investigation has forced me to the judgment that *this character is the culture of Irish Catholicism*. (pp. 157, 158.)

There are many passages like the above, in fact, a main theme of the whole book, apart from its political significance,

is that the Irish, *in so far as they have remained under the influence of Catholicism*, have retained true Christianity, for they believe

that home-life is the centre of human life, that the spirit of the individual is indestructible and divinely immortal, that virtue is of immense importance, that communion with God is a reality and a blessing, that the foremost concern of every man, woman, and child—the concern infinitely more important than any conceivable advantage in the material world—is the spiritual life. (pp. 319, 320.)

And the lesson which the Catholic portion of Ireland forced upon Mr. Begbie's reluctant acceptance was driven finally and conclusively home by an inspection at close quarters of the so-called religion of the Protestants of Ulster—"very arrogant, disfiguring, and entirely un-Christlike," as he calls it; "an artificially organized political religiousness." "The religion of Belfast," he tells us again, "as a whole, is not the religion founded by Christ," and he gives us abundant proofs of this fact, both from the self-righteous creed of hatred preached from the pulpits and from the heartless creed of Mammon practised in mart and factory, from the callous exploitation of men, women and children in the interests of soulless commercialism, and from the blank materialism that rules the lives of the Protestant workers. Hence, in Mr. Begbie's mind, a contest between observed fact and inherited prejudice, and hence, as far as it goes, his honourable *amende*—

My problem lay [he says] in squaring the admiration I felt for these gracious people with my detestation of the Church which has guarded Irish character from the dawn of its history.

I was compelled to admit that I had greatly misjudged the Catholic Church. My conscience would not let me fence with this conviction. I saw that I had blundered by unconsciously entertaining the foolish notion that because one branch of the Catholic Church is scandalous, or one era of Catholic history is abominable, therefore every branch is scandalous and every era of Catholic history to the end of time must remain abominable (p. 158).

It will be noted that Mr. Begbie's concession is somewhat limited. He praises the Church here and now without prejudice to his liberty to denounce her elsewhere. In fact, he frequently protests that his mind remains unaltered.

I have inherited, and experience of the world has deepened, an almost violent antipathy to the Roman Church. . . . The dogmas of that Church have ever seemed to me only one more degree preposterous and unholy than so great a part of her history has been villainous and detestable. . . . My aversion from Catholic creed remains. I have gone once more patiently, and with an honest effort to be just, into the question of Catholic dogma, and I find myself more puzzled than ever before in my life to account for the fact of any man gifted with even a little knowledge being able to accept, to accept so that they subdue his life, these amazing and humiliating superstitions of magic-worship. (pp. 156, 157, 160.)

Who now can say, after that sonorous protest, that Mr. Begbie has wavered in his Protestantism? The pulpits of Ulster have often resounded with the like. But yet the obstinate query will suggest itself—If the fruit is so exceedingly and demonstrably good, how can the tree be so detestably wicked? I will tell you, says Mr. Begbie at last, all his perplexity swept away—

I came to see vividly and clearly, what most of us have always suspected, that it is the character of the man, not the set of dogmas to which he pins his faith, that makes the Christian. What a man thinks, what a man believes in the region of dogma, seems to exercise almost no influence whatever upon the Christianity of his life. (p. 158.)

Thus, after all, the poor Irish Papists are upright, hard-working, cheerful, thrifty, spiritual, &c., &c., by virtue of their "character" and in spite of their creed, and Mr. Begbie may continue, whilst admiring the former, to detest and vilify the latter to his heart's content. A clever and happy solution truly? But will it solve the problem? The great dogma, for instance, known as the Incarnation of the Son of God, on which the faith of the Irish and their hope of immortality rest—has that no influence on their Christianity? The dogma of Mary's Perpetual Virginity, which is the inspiration of the matchless purity of Catholic Ireland's mothers and maidens—is that a matter of indifference to these good women? The dogma of the Real Presence and the sacrificial character of the Mass, which throngs Irish Catholic churches even on week-days—has that no effect on the lives of the people? The dogma of the sacerdotal "power of the Keys" that every week-end crowds the confessionals of the land—one

might disbelieve that, I suppose, and still retain those Irish qualities so much admired by our author. The dogma of the Divinity of Christ's Church, which produces so willing an obedience to her disciplinary decrees—has that nothing to say to Irish goodness? Really, Mr. Begbie, I fear your solution is quite pathetically inadequate. With all your sympathy and affection for Ireland, you have a long way to travel before you arrive at an understanding of Catholicism, a code of conduct which relies upon dogma as the flesh on the skeleton. Character, you say, makes a man a Christian, but what, I ask, forms character? Surely, a man's convictions, the assent of his intellect to elevating truths, capable of being proposed categorically and known to be certain—dogmas, in other words. The company of a Catholic theologian, I gather, excites in you amazement and pity! Yet the little Bishop you admire so much and speak of in your second chapter with such appreciation—he too is a Catholic theologian: nay, did you not discuss with him the Athanasian creed? (p. 42). If that "brilliant and engaging man" could not make you understand the spirit of the Catholic Faith, may it not be,—I suggest it with all deference,—that the fault did not lie with the Bishop's exposition?

However, if Mr. Begbie is yet a long way off, his feet are turned in the right direction. May further meditation on the divine saying, "By their fruits ye shall know them," bring him yet further on the path, even unto the goal.

J. K.

The "Semaine d'ethnologie religieuse" at Louvain.

Incidentally we referred last month to the *Semaine d'ethnologie religieuse* being held just at that time at Louvain. We also indicated its objects, which were to bring into personal contact, for their mutual advantage and encouragement, Catholics engaged in the comparative study of religions, and particularly to organize a system for training to scientific methods of research in this field our Catholic missionaries, who have such unequalled opportunities of collecting and verifying the ultimate facts on which the whole study must rest, the rites and customs of the races not very accurately styled Primitive. This *Semaine* came off duly on the

nine days from August 27th to September 4th, and a brief account of its proceedings may be acceptable here. The majority of those present were University Professors and Professors of Theology, Sacred History, or kindred subjects, at the various seminaries. Many were missionaries, present or future. Most, too, of the religious Orders were represented, Benedictines, Franciscans, Carmelites, Dominicans, Redemptorists, Jesuits, and several of the great missionary congregations. Louvain had been chosen for the first meeting as being a centre easy of access, but even so, the promoters were surprised at the number of nationalities represented. The choice of Louvain was also happy for another reason, for it enabled this system of *Semaines*, which it is hoped to make annual occurrences, to be inaugurated under the ægis of a great Catholic University, which has taken the greatest interest in this particular study, and has produced some of the leading Catholic authorities therein. At the same time it is not intended that the *Semaines* should remain rooted at Louvain. The meeting of 1913 indeed is to be again held there, but it is hoped that after that, other great centres of Europe will be the scene of its activities, Friburg, London, and Munich being mentioned amongst others.

The course of lectures was opened on Tuesday, August 27th, by Father Schmidt, of Vienna, the learned Editor of *Anthropos*, and probably the first authority in Europe on Ethnology. The *Semaine* owes much to Father Schmidt. He is the *Secrétaire Général*. To his initiative and organization, and to that of the *Secrétaire adjoint*, Father Bouvier, S.J., the work owes its existence. Father Schmidt, in his opening paper, outlined the history of the study of Ethnology, and gave at the same time an object lesson in the strictly scientific method according to which researches must be made and results weighed, if they are to be of any service. He showed, too, the real value, not merely to science, but to the defence of the faith, of the patient and painstaking observations which some of our missionaries have made, and others, it is hoped, will be induced to make in the future. Father Pinard, S.J., followed with two brilliant lectures on the history of the study of religions, notable for some keen criticism of the untrustworthy methods now in vogue. On the Wednesday morning, Father van Ginneken, S.J., of Nijmegen, Holland, read two papers on the classification of languages. His general aim was to call attention to the strong reasons

which exist for recognizing such a genetic relationship between some of the great families of languages—he dealt with the Indo-European and Uralo-Altaic families—as would point to a common parent stock. In this he was opposing the conclusions of Max Müller, and he did much to destroy the argument against the unity of the human race, which is drawn from the supposed disconnectedness of the great families of languages.

The same day M. l'Abbé Bros read a paper criticizing the animistic theories of Tylor and Spencer; and in the evening of this day there were *travaux pratiques*. These are specially intended to train missionaries in the spirit and method of scientific observation. The subject that evening was "How to make linguistic observations," and such was the actuality of the proceedings, that one of the lecturers brought with him a Congolese negro, to help with a *viva voce* illustration of the methods inculcated. One could hardly speak too highly of these *travaux pratiques*. Ethnological experts who see in our Catholic missionary periodicals possibilities of valuable information, have been heard to express disappointment at the very small help they get from them. Notes on native races are often from a scientific point of view valueless, simply because the missionaries who write them miss the essential points. They have not been taught to observe just the right thing. It was precisely to meet this difficulty during the *Semaine* that demonstrations are given by experienced missionaries of methods of observation at once practical and scientifically approved. Future missionaries are to be taught "how to observe and describe a series of practices, rites, beliefs," &c., in such way as to be of service to science, and through science to religion.

The most notable feature of the next day, Thursday, was the first of Father Bouvier's lectures on "Magic and its relation to Religion," a criticism of the theories of Frazer, Hubert and Hauss, which had already appeared in the pages of a periodical.¹ Father Bouvier showed a thorough knowledge of the systems he was considering, and of the subject in all its bearings. His criticism was none the less powerful for being restrained in tone. He concluded his treatment of the subject next morning, Friday, when he was followed by Mgr. Le Roy, Bishop of Alinda, the Superior General of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, and himself a missionary of

¹ *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, Sept.-Oct. 1912.

twenty years' experience in Central Africa, and a trained observer of the type which it is desired to multiply among missionaries. His Lordship dealt with the subject of the idea of God among the primitive peoples with whom he had come in contact. One feels that one has something substantial to rest on when one hears a man who has lived for years in daily and hourly communication with the people he is describing, exploding the vague generalities which pass current for scientifically ascertained fact.

Perhaps the greatest personal triumph of the *Semaine* was gained by Father de Grandmaison, S.J., Editor of *Les Études*, who followed Bishop Le Roy. He delivered two lectures, one on the relation between religion and social cult, and the other between religion and personal piety, in the course of which he discussed the theories now current on adoration and sacrifice, and the relation between interior and exterior worship. His lectures fully deserved the warm words of eulogy in which at the end Baron Descamps expressed the gratitude of the meeting. The day ended with more *travaux pratiques*, on "How to make investigations about religious beliefs," by Father Cadière, of the Missions Étrangères of Paris.

On the Saturday there were two lectures by Father Lemonnyer, O.P., the first on "Religion and Morality," the second on "The Future Life," that is, on the ideas of the world to come which prevail among various exceedingly primitive races. Professor Schrijnen, of the University of Utrecht, Holland, read two papers on "Sociology" and "Family, Tribe, and State." In the evening there were more *travaux pratiques* from Father Trilles, C.S.Sp.

This brought to an end what is called the *partie fixe* of the *Semaine*, the part, that is, which embraces the more general subjects, which are to be discussed every year—"the study, principally by way of description, of the principal ethnological, religious, and infra-religious notions that prevail." From what has been said, it can be seen that by this section alone the *Semaine* justifies its sub-title, *Cours d'introduction à l'étude des religions*. By attendance at it, one who is interested in such matters, or who has to take up the study of them for professional purposes, comes in contact with the best that is said or written by our Catholic experts, and also receives practical lessons in strictly scientific method. He learns, too, the strength of the Catholic position. There is no denying that many who attended the meetings brought with

them a mass of half-formulated difficulties, of half-answered questions. One cannot help sometimes feeling certain misgivings when one considers the skill and erudition arrayed against us. Here one found that equal skill and a more solid erudition were at work on the side of the truth. It was the experience of many that long-standing difficulties were completely answered often without being explicitly formulated.

The second part of the *Semaine* was devoted this year to an examination of totemism and the religions of the regions where totemism is considered to be especially prevalent, viz., Africa, Oceania and Annam. Father Schmidt again showed himself a tower of strength. His work is a great contrast to the type of lecture which is dependent on the latest Encyclopedia for materials and conclusions alike. It bears the stamp of his twenty years of patient toil. Other lecturers were Father Trilles, C.Sp.S., Professor de Jonghe, of the Institut Colonial, Louvain, M. Capart, and Father Cadière. This comprised the *partie variable*, covering the three days, September 2nd, 3rd and 4th. It is the hope of the promoters to arrange that during this second part of the *Semaine*, all the chief religions known, especially those still existing, should be discussed, the matter being distributed over a cycle of from three to five years. To meet, however, the obvious difficulty that many will not be able to profit by such an arrangement, through not being able to attend regularly, year by year, a more complicated arrangement was suggested as an alternative.

If this alternative system is adopted the meetings will be held only every two or three years. In any case, however, the *Semaine* will be held in 1913, at about the same date as this year, and again at Louvain.

Proceedings closed on Wednesday, September 4th, with a *Réunion d'adieu*, followed by Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. There were the usual complimentary speeches delivered with more than the usual grace by Father de Grandmaison, Mgr. Ladeuze, and Mgr. Le Roy. It was hoped that Cardinal Mercier would be present at the final meeting, but at the last his Eminence found himself unavoidably prevented from coming, but sent a telegram in which, whilst regretting his inability to be present, he warmly approved the objects which the *Semaine* had in view.

Cardinal Bourne also showed great interest in the work and sent his special blessing. But in spite of this expression

of benevolence on the part of the head of our hierarchy, one heard many regrets expressed that England was represented hardly at all at the meetings. As was said above, it is intended to hold the *Semaine* at convenient centres of Europe, other than Louvain, and among these London is suggested. But it would be a pity if English professors and English missionaries were to wait till the mountain comes to them, instead of going themselves to seek the advantages which the *Semaine* offers. In other ways the share taken by our countrymen is more prominent. One is glad to note the name of the Bishop of Salford on the list of the *Comité Internationale*, which has the responsibility of fixing the programme and inviting the lecturers for each session. The *Comité de Patronage* includes Mr. Wilfrid Ward, Sir Bertram Windle, Professor Phillimore, and Father Martindale, S.J. English names occur also on the subscription list. Perhaps one may be permitted, in passing, to call attention to this practical way of supporting the movement. The work of the Congress is of course greatly dependent on the supply of the sinews of war, and anyone who should send material help to Father Bouvier, of Ore Place, Hastings, or to the Treasurer, the Chevalier de Wyels, Rue de Tirlemont 235, Louvain, Belgium, would thereby be taking a share in an apostolic work. The promoters of the *Semaine* intend to publish the proceedings in a volume of about 200 pages, which will appear probably during January next. This will contain a list of those who were present at the meetings, and an abstract of the lectures delivered. Those who are interested in the work will be well advised to look out for the appearance of this volume. By it they will be able to appreciate the value of the work done. But it is hardly necessary to point out that the perusal of abstracts is a very unsatisfactory substitute for the living voice, and that digests can contain only a fraction of the erudition which gives the lectures their real worth.

L. W. G.

II. TOPICS OF THE MONTH.

The Death
of Father
Matthew Russell.

ON many grounds—of religious kinship, of old associations, of community of purpose—THE MONTH must mourn the death of Father Matthew Russell, S.J., the Editor of the *Irish Monthly*, which occurred in Dublin on September 12th, at the ripe age of seventy-nine. A close friend of Father Henry James

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Coleridge, he took a keen interest in the establishment of this periodical, to the early pages of which he contributed some of his earliest and sweetest verses. But not many years later all his literary energies were absorbed by his own little monthly, which started its career in 1873, and which from the first reflected so much of his engaging personality. Father Russell was literary in the widest sense of the word, not only sharing the cultured man's enthusiasm for the high efforts of human thought to express ideal truth and beauty, and feeling the connoisseur's zest in the technique of the literary art, but delighting also in its mysteries and curiosities, in noting coincidences and contrasts and unveiling pseudonymities. These tastes gave the *Irish Monthly* a unique character and made it always a delight to read. But the love of literature in Father Russell was handmaid to another love, the love of God, and in his various devotional writings, which have such a vogue amongst the faithful, he made apt and frequent use of phrases and pictures, culled from his wide reading of the classics. Towards the beginner in the art of writing he showed the same helpful consideration that marked two very different characters, James Payn and Andrew Lang, and many papers have given the names of distinguished performers who made their *début* in his pages. In paying our sincere tribute to his memory, we trust that his successor may successfully carry on the fine traditions he established.

**Catholic Unity
in
Social Endeavour.**

One consequence of the ignorance regarding the public activities of their fellow-Catholics in which many, even of the educated faithful, live and which is due partly to worldliness and apathy, partly to the isolation of individuals, and very largely to the neglect of the Catholic press, is that the same suggestions and warnings on points connected with the promotion of God's kingdom are apt to be made over and over again. They reach but a few ears, are soon forgotten, and in consequence there is no possibility of steady concerted action. Time after time, for instance, the felt need of some ready means of rebutting anti-Catholic calumnies prompts people to cry out for a sort of clearing-house for such things and to propose various plans, but the proposers are not in touch with one another and so energies are wasted which, in combination, might have yielded tangible results. To the same cause is apparently due the grave but belated warnings against Fabianism and other Socialistic tactics with which a writer in the *Universe* has lately been making our flesh creep, ignoring or in ignorance of the fact that the Catholic Social Guild very many months ago had issued counsels to the same effect, all the weightier because often couched in the language of Papal encyclicals and all readily

accessible in its printed literature. If guileless Catholics are being seduced by Fabian tactics, it would surely seem better policy and decidedly less waste of energy to call attention to the abundant supply of antidotal provision stored up in the many pamphlets which, by the kindness of the Catholic Truth Society, the Social Guild has been able to produce at a nominal price, and to the living work of the Guild in its study-clubs, lending-libraries, correspondence bureau and schemes for social study, rather than to start an independent campaign of one's own. The Guild is labouring at the organization of Catholics into a fighting force well-equipped with intellectual and moral arguments for the overthrow of irreligious Socialism. It has already achieved a certain measure of success, sketched a certain programme of reform, been blessed and approved and bidden God-speed by the highest Catholic authority in the land and many of his episcopal brethren,—surely elementary common-sense would suggest that earnest Catholics who dread, as they well may, the subtle influx of Socialistic principles amongst those less well instructed in the Faith should, instead of initiating a campaign of their own and thus indirectly showing distrust of the army already in the field, unite forces with that army and give it the valuable assistance of their knowledge and their zeal. At a time when everything calls for unity and energy in the face of a danger so imminent and so grave, all good Catholics should emphasize and dwell upon points of agreement and urge whatever makes for co-operation rather than what makes for disunion.

**What a
Catholic Social
Policy consists in.**

At the same time the *Universe*, we feel, is right in distinguishing between the policy of the Catholic Social Guild and that expressed by individual members, even when speaking on a public occasion. The policy of the Guild in social matters, like that of the Church whose teachings it aims at applying, must be to a large extent critical rather than creative, negative rather than positive. Precisely because the lawful methods of remedying a given abuse may be manifold, it does not advocate one more than another, except in so far as Christian principle is better secured. Between policies which are sound from the moral point of view the Guild as such does not discriminate. Its most important work is to indicate whether projected schemes are in accordance with Catholic teaching and, if not, wherein precisely they fail. It stands for all inalienable human rights—the right to serve God according to conscience, the right to decent living, the right to education, the right to ownership, the right to marry and bring up children—whatever is necessary for the due development of man as an individual, as a citizen, as a child of God. Sometimes these

rights are plainly infringed, as by many recent educational enactments, and the duty of Catholic social workers is clear; sometimes the somewhat vague limits of justifiable State interference are approached and a definite pronouncement is not easy or perhaps possible. In such cases the Guild, like the Church, cannot but allow its members their liberty until discussion brings to light some clear violation of a moral principle and choice is no longer free. Thus some of its members approve of the Insurance Act, others do not. Similarly with regard to the Minority Report, Women's Franchise and other important questions. In fact, the Guild may claim as its own guiding principle in social questions, the admirable motto of the *Universe* itself—*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas*. At the same time, there may be solutions of social problems which are evidently *more* in accordance with Christianity than others, although these latter are tolerable, and one may naturally expect to find the Guild supporting the better remedies. On every ground, then, of economy of force and efficiency of action, we venture to hope that all zealous Catholics will support, by joining, the Guild.

**Why State
Intervention
is
growing.**

The question of the proper limits of State interference with individual liberty, which has been brought into much prominence by the working of the Insurance Act, has become an exceedingly intricate one, precisely on account of the abnormal condition in which the State finds itself. It is trying to maintain without the help of the Church, the Christian civilization which the Church helped it to create and which it could not have created without that help. In pursuance of this endeavour it has to substitute the force of external law for the dictates of an enlightened conscience, although the substitute is not very effective. Hence it is forced to do many things which in a thoroughly Christian community, free "with the liberty with which Christ hath made us free," would be quite intolerable because wholly unnecessary. It is forced to prescribe to employers how to treat their workmen because, left to themselves, many employers would make slaves of their "hands"; it is forced to feed necessitous school-children, because want of conscience, or want of work, incapacitates many parents from doing so; it is forced to restrict the temperate man's opportunities of getting liquid refreshment and getting it cheap, because the virtue of many of the community is not sufficient to prevent a perpetual drunken orgie, were the restrictions removed. And in proportion as Christian principles and the sense of a responsibility to a Higher Power disappear from our midst (and disappear they will if a practically Godless educational system and a practically Godless newspaper press have their natural effect) in the same proportion will the strong arm of the

State be called upon to supply, for the sake of civilized order, the lack of internal support. Let the able writers in the *Eye-Witness*, who are constantly denouncing legislative interferences with liberty, consider the bearing of these facts. It comes to this—the only effective substitute for a Christian State that can be imagined—we do not say that it would work in practice—is a Socialist State.

**Sunday Opening
of
Theatres.**

The *Eye-Witness* has the more reason for such reflections because lately that lively paper, which at first stood strongly, not to say violently, for the cause of Christianity has shown some signs of moral deterioration. We do not refer to its advocacy of Free-Trade in drink: it has taken that position from the first, owing to an intelligible mistrust of the great brewing-monopoly, and a wholly mistaken impression that temperance would not really suffer in consequence. Nor to the *obiter dicta* of chance Socialists, and the like to whom it has given the hospitality of its columns. We refer rather to two points discussed editorially in which the decision come to does not seem to square with Christian teaching. The first is the Sunday opening of theatres, to which in its hatred of Puritanism the *Eye-Witness* gives its support.¹ Now, one can hate Puritanism, which is based upon a perverted notion of our relations with God and a false conception of human nature, and still recognize good in some of its effects. Puritanism is wholly right in reverencing Sunday and only wrong in the way in which it would express its reverence. Christianity instituted Sunday as a day of joy in sympathetic commemoration of our Lord's Resurrection, but it also transferred to that day the strict obligation enunciated in the Third Commandment. Hence the joy indulged in must be compatible with God's service and not involve unnecessary work. In Catholic times, this gladness found expression, it is true, in dramatic representations—mysteries, and miracle-plays—but what Christian could argue thence that therefore the modern theatre should be open on Sundays? Is there any gleam of holiness now connected with play-acting? A chance play might not be out of harmony with the spirit of the day, for a few, even nowadays, combine moral with dramatic excellence, but many, too many, are unfit to be acted on any day in a Christian community. Let Sunday by all means, when God has had His due meed of worship, be spent in rest and recreation, but let the recreation be wholesome and the rest be as universal as possible. There is a good deal to reform in the British observance of the Lord's day without running into anti-Puritanic excess. "As to-day is Sunday," Mr. Birrell shrewdly remarks in *Obiter Dicta* (Second Series, p. 274)

¹ September 5th and 12th.

"only such Free-Libraries are open as may happen to be attached to Public-Houses."

**Free
Suicide !**

The other point we have touched on before in the same connection,¹ and need not now elaborate. But the *Eye-Witness* for September 19th (p. 421), has repeated its plea for free-suicide, approving, this time, the solution of the hunger-strike problem advocated by Mr. Shaw, a very dubious guide in ethical matters, viz., that food should be placed within reach of the prisoners and, if they refuse to take it, they should be allowed to die. This solution we submit is wholly immoral. Suicide is not only a sin but also a crime against social order which the State has a right and a duty to prevent, and to punish when prevented. And if it must do so with regard to free citizens, *a fortiori* with regard to criminals who have justly forfeited, for a time, their right to the free ordering of their lives. The opposite doctrine would result in social anarchy. If the right of the individual as against the State to take his own life is admitted, we must also admit his right to engage someone, as Saul did, to help him, and murderers may plead successfully—"Yes, but I did it at the victim's own request." There is no difference, ethically speaking, between self-starvation and self-drowning or self-shooting, and, moreover, not to prevent when you can and you ought is to share in the guilt of the crime committed. Repugnance to the disgusting process of forcible feeding should not be allowed to obscure the moral sense. The most effective way out of the *impasse* created by the hunger-strike is to make the criminals who resort to it work out their sentences intermittently. That would cause the practice to cease by rendering it useless.

**Pagan
Ideals.**

How obscure the moral sense has become amongst a people deprived for long generations of the guidance of the Church, is naturally much more evident in the ordinary secular press. The various comments on the suicide of General Nogi at the Mikado's funeral show how little Christian morality influences the judgments of the average journalist. The poor General acted according to his lights, such as they were: there is no evidence that he killed himself out of a cowardly desire to escape the evils of life; but that is no reason why Christians should hold up such Pagan morality to admiration, as does the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and a score of other journals. And as little should this country be called upon, as it is in the September *Review of Reviews*, to emulate the State-worship of the Japanese. "Self-sacrifice for the good of the State, without any hope for self-advance-

¹ "The Ethics of Forcible Feeding," MONTH, April, 1912.

ment, is the dominant note of the people," says the latter journal, and we are bidden to imitate them. But seeing that the State exists for the individual, being the means ordained by God to secure the due development of his powers and fit opportunity, for him to serve his Maker, the Japanese ideal is but a reversion to the order of things which Christianity overthrew. Patriotism is one of the noblest of the natural virtues, an immense advance beyond selfish individualism that loses its life in seeking to find it, but it must be inspired and controlled by a sense of that higher citizenship in which we have been incorporated by the Sacrament of Baptism. Unless one's love of country is in some sort an expression of one's love of God, it is for the most part a kind of sublimated selfishness, apt to breed pride, contempt of others, racial antagonisms and a host of other evils. It is remarkable how minds uninformed by the principles of Catholic Christianity, revert to the spirit of Judaism and try to "nationalize" Almighty God.

**In Defence
of
Free-Masonry.**

We have lately called attention to the sober, well-documented exposure of Continental Free-Masonry which is still proceeding in the pages of the *Oxford and Cambridge Review*. It may be with a view to counteract the damning impression, thus produced that Canon Horsley, of Southwark, the Anglican "Grand Chaplain of England" has published through the appropriate medium of *Tit-Bits* (September 14th), a sort of *apologia* for the Craft. If the Grand Chaplain had confined himself to English Free-Masonry, which though rightly condemned by the Church as a secret oath-bound society, has never developed the anti-Christian features which characterize the organization elsewhere, we should not have troubled to notice his defence. To be sure, it does not save even English Masonry from the incivism which is necessarily connected with all such secret and artificial associations, and, in any case, Catholics know that if Free-Masonry is merely "a system of morality," as Canon Horsley claims, it is not the system guaranteed by our Lord in His Church. But the Grand Chaplain, although he ostentatiously dissociates his organization from the atheist Grand Orient of France, apparently takes to his bosom all other branches of the Craft, including "our brethren in Portugal" who in these latter times have given such a valuable exhibition of its true spirit. And, as none of the foreign Lodges has repudiated the Grand Orient, the Canon is little the better for his rejection of the French; they, too are his brethren, only, as it were, once removed. Moreover, even if they were removed altogether, his acceptance of all Masonry, except the French, shows that the Grand Chaplain either knows little about the character of the Craft

outside England, or is willing to condone its misdeeds because it has been "persecuted" by the Popes. We incline to the first supposition, both because it is more charitable and because the incursions Canon Horsley does make into history are perfectly childish in their ineptitude. The measure of his historical credulity may be fairly gauged by his adoption of the silly fable that Pius IX. "was a Mason and had been secretary of a lodge in South America," a legend given currency in Adolphus Trollope's life of the Pope, but rejected by all reputable historians, like the other grosser calumnies circulated by "Leo Taxil."

The Jesuits
 a
 Secret Society!

Still more preposterous is the parallel which the Canon endeavours to draw, in English that lacks something of clearness, between the Jesuits and the Masons.

By-the-by [he asks] is the Society of Jesuits less of a secret society than Masonry? Its members are not necessarily known to one another, nor have their objects and actions always been either known to or approved by Popes. Because they were a secret society nation after nation has expelled them, and the Popes [*sic*] for the same reason suppressed them.

If by his first assertion, the Canon means that all Jesuits are not personally acquainted with each other, he is stating what is equally true of all Anglican clergymen. If he means that there are such persons as crypto-Jesuits, whose membership of the Order is a secret, he is stating what is absolutely false and what he cannot even pretend to substantiate. And with regard to the second charge, it is likely enough that Popes, not being gifted with omniscience, have been ignorant of the "objects and actions" of individual Jesuits, just as they were and are of the conduct of others of the Catholic clergy. But if the Supreme Pontiffs ever disapproved of the corporate "objects and actions" of the Society which they established and fostered from the beginning, we can only say that they have left no record of their disapproval, the Brief of Suppression notwithstanding. The third charge is an unmitigated falsehood, for the simple reason that the Jesuits are not a secret society and therefore could not have been expelled and suppressed because they were. Before his next contribution to *Tit-Bits* we recommend Canon Horsley to read the article on the Society in the fourteenth volume of the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, where he will find its whole aim and character set forth in the clearest terms, and even the numbers and distribution of its present membership. And after that he should peruse and meditate on M. Brenier's papers in the *Oxford and Cambridge Review*.

**Free-Masonry
anti-civic.**

Meanwhile the flourishing State of the Argentine which, though Catholic in name and constitution is far from being "clerical," in the sense used by anti-clericals, has shown by its recent refusal to recognize Masonry, that its opinion of the Craft coincides with that of Bismarck and many other secular statesmen, who have from time to time found it necessary to repress its pernicious and anti-civic activities. The Argentine Government in its reply to the Masonic demand says, amongst other things:—

The Masonic Society does not look for the general good of all the citizens, but only seeks to promote the selfish interests of its members to the detriment of the citizens at large. . . . Masonry is anti-Christian and requires its members to combat the Christian faith. . . . Masonry constitutes a State in the State, *imperium in imperio*, though it is rather a travesty of the State.

And if it be urged that it is Spanish Masonry that is here in question, further corrupted by its transplantation to South America, let us turn to the German variety which held a meeting in the spring, at Frankfurt, to discuss whether Catholics could be admitted into the Order. As a result, a series of propositions was adopted, the gist of which was that Catholicism and Free-Masonry are incompatible, and that therefore a Catholic becoming a Mason must renounce his faith and the services of his religion at death.¹ Thus, Canon Horsley must throw more than the Grand Orient overboard if he wishes to preserve English Free-Masonry from connection with irreligion.

**The Orange
Campaign
against
Catholicism.**

The Catholic religion continues to be traduced openly or covertly by that section of Ulster Protestantism that objects to the Home Rule proposals of the Government. The fear expressed in the phrase "Home Rule means Rome Rule" inspires the great majority of the speeches against the measure. It is an irrational fear, as has often been pointed out: neither history nor the spirit of their creed justifies the assumption that the Catholic majority would use their power to the detriment, spiritual or temporal, of their Protestant fellow-subjects. "It is open to anyone to maintain," says Lecky,² "that the Irish Catholics would never have been content with any position short of ascendancy; but whatever plausibility this theory may derive from the experience of other countries, there is no real evidence to support it in Irish history." The evidence, in fact, is all

¹ See the Freemason review, the *Bauhütte* for March 30.

² *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, i. 36.

the other way. "On the three occasions," says Taylor,¹ "of their obtaining the upper hand they [the Irish Catholics] never injured a single person in life or limb, for professing a religion different from their own." Why, then, this frenzy of dread to-day amongst Ulster Protestants? Because of the presence in their midst of an organization constituted for no other object than to foment and perpetuate hostility to the Church, viz., the Orange Society. Readers of the valuable history of this organization² written by the present Bishop of Auckland, and published by the C.T.S.—a book emphatically for the present crisis—will need no reminding with what persistent and pestilent rancour Orangeism has fulfilled its diabolical mission from 1795 to this day, and how it has stopped at no crime, of physical violence, of fraud or of slander, that might help to promote its object. Its spirit of religious pride, of intolerance, of cruelty forms the very antithesis of Christianity, so much so that in very shame it must ever disguise itself under some cloak such as loyalty, or zeal for religion or defence of just rights. It is commonly said that the modern Irish question cannot be understood without a profound acquaintance with the past history of the land; certainly without a knowledge of the spirit and purpose of Orangeism one might be puzzled by the fact that whereas in the South of Ireland, where Protestants are a scattered few, they live in peace with their Catholic neighbours, and are generally prosperous, in places dominated by the Orange tradition, this unmanly dread of possible Catholic aggression is constantly manifested by vilification of the faith and its professors. The inference is that the dread is artificial, manufactured by the unscrupulous for purposes of politics.

Where Silence
is not
Golden.

At the same time we cannot admit that a conviction of this fact justifies silence on the part of Catholic followers of the Opposition in regard to the calumnies habitually uttered under Orange inspiration against the Faith. During all this agitation only one solitary voice from their ranks has been publicly raised in protest against a persecution of Catholicism in the north of Ireland which, though as yet mostly confined to words, is akin in spirit to that which prompts the abominable anti-Catholic outrages in Portugal. It argues little loyalty to the Catholic faith to allow the repetition of statements, which imply that our creed sanctions the use of force for religious propaganda or that the Church in Ireland would use her influence otherwise than in the interests of justice and harmony. The bold outspokenness of those sturdy Catholic Trade-Unionists, who risked the harmony of their organization and its consequent

¹ *Irish Civil Wars*, i. 168. Taylor, too, was a Protestant.

² *The Orange Society*. Pp. 460. Price, 2s. 6d.

power to uphold the rights of the workers, by protesting in season and out against a resolution which violated Catholic principles of education, forms a significant contrast to the blank silence maintained in press and on platform by leading Catholic opponents of the Government respecting the abuse of our faith so common on the lips of their Protestant colleagues both in England and in Ireland. We should surely be Catholics first and politicians afterwards.

**Rooks
and
Pigeons.**

One has often wondered at the impunity enjoyed by the various tricksters who call themselves palmists, sand-diviners, crystal gazers and the like, and whose advertisements perambulate our fashionable streets and fill the "ad" pages of our popular magazines. The law comes down heavily on the "bookie" who, at least gives you a slender chance of getting value for your speculations, but ignores the impostors who by claims to hidden knowledge practise on the credulity of the ignorant and superstitious. There are laws, notably the Vagrancy Act of 1824, directed against this evil, but they have long been allowed to remain inoperative, suggesting to many, the idea that the police connive, for a consideration, at their violation. Now, after a few tentative and successful prosecutions, the law in the metropolis, stimulated by questions in the House of Commons, has at last taken action and all these impostors have been forbidden to advertize in any way, under penalties set forth in the Act. The evil will now, we hope, cease to parade itself openly to the scandal of the public—a good instance of how effectively State action can at times help to advance morality.

Whether the law will ever take cognizance of another form of imposture, which is even more prevalent but somewhat less noxious as not sinning against the First Commandment, viz., quack medicines, is somewhat more doubtful. But after the revelations made in the British Medical Association's recent volume *More Secret Remedies*, a clear case seems to be made out for the prosecution of the proprietors at least of these impositions, on the grounds of making money by false pretences. Unfortunately, so many papers, weekly as well as daily, "religious" as well as secular, derive so much income from the advertisements of these bogus cures, that public opinion, which was aroused to such excitement over the question of Standard Bread, is not likely to be disturbed about this genuine abuse. Commercialism is very tough of conscience. *Populus vult decipi, decipiat.* But let the wise man add *More Secret Remedies* to the former volume and whenever he wants to make his hair grow or cure his blushing, let him manufacture his own remedies from the prescriptions detailed in those books and save several thousands per cent.

Reviews.

I.—THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA.¹

WITH the publication of the fourteenth volume this most useful and important work has approached well within sight of the goal. Another volume remains to complete the alphabet, and that will be followed, we understand, by an Index volume—the key to the whole compilation—which will also contain a series of *addenda*, omitted for one reason or another from their appropriate alphabetical position. The present volume is more than ordinarily rich in valuable articles. To begin with the Queen of Sciences, *Theology* has rightly enough the largest number of columns—eighty-six—allotted to it, and is treated under five heads—*Dogmatic*, by Dr. Joseph Pohle, of Breslau (the section Christology, however, being the work of Father Maas, S.J., of Woodstock); *Moral*, by the veteran Father Lehmkuhl, S.J.; *Pastoral*, a short treatment by Father Drum, S.J.; *Ascetical*, by Dr. Franz Mutz, of Freiburg (Germany), and *Mystical*, by Father Poulain, S.J., whose *Graces of Interior Prayer* is a proof of his mastery of the subject. The aim of the treatise is to give a compendious account of theological subjects, especially from the positive side, and though there is necessarily a certain amount of repetition of matters treated in more detail throughout the work, it is highly convenient to have all such subjects brought together in their proper relations. Their presentment here vindicates the claim of Catholic Theology to be indeed a science, proceeding logically from definite principles and orderly and coherent throughout. Not a few theological subjects have separate treatment in this very volume, which opens with an account of *Sin* (15 cols.), by Father A. C. O'Neil, O.P., of Washington, an exhaustive exposition of Catholic doctrine which refutes as well the multitudinous heresies on the subject due to man's desires to evade his responsibilities. *Thomism*, by Dr. D. J. Kennedy, O.P., of Washington, presents a full account both of the general features of St. Thomas' contri-

¹ Volume XIV. *Simony—Tournély*. London: Caxton Publishing Co. Pp. 800. Price, 27s. 6d. 1912.

bution to theological science and of the special doctrines which have been elaborated by his followers in matters where speculation is free. A comparison of this article with the earlier ones on *Molinism* and *Controversies on Grace* shows how little hope there is that the human intellect will ever be able to reconcile the two indisputable facts of the utter dependence of everything on God and man's genuine freedom of will. The fact that there are two articles, entitled severally *Spiritism* and *Spiritualism*, points to a useful distinction much obscured in ordinary language between the practice of invocation of spirits and the doctrine opposed to materialism. In the bibliography of the former article we find no mention of the important works of Mr. Godfrey Raupert, although he is as well known as an opponent of Spiritism in America as here. This article and that on *Superstition* contain salutary warnings which the less-educated amongst the faithful stand much in need of. Amongst other topics of moral theology, there are treated in this volume *Suicide*, a clear exposition of the doctrine and a statistical survey, *Toleration*, an important subject treated both historically and ethically, and *Speculation*, where the line between fair dealing and foul is set forth by Father Slater, S.J. Under the same general heading we may class *Theodicy*, devoted to what is known about God by natural reason alone, *Theosophy* (4 cols.), rather too brief a treatment of a widespread false religion, and *Totemism* (10 cols.), which gives remarkable testimony to the chaos of theories concerning this feature of savage life.

There are but few important articles devoted to Philosophy proper,—the *Soul* (9 cols.), *Space*, *Time*, and *Substance* are the chief. Under Political Economy, the main subject is *Socialism* (13 cols.), a lucid historical and critical treatment of the subject by Messrs. L. A. Toke and W. E. Campbell, which, while dispersing many popular errors, brings into prominence the root-fallacies of the system. We trust that it will be read and appreciated by those misguided folk who call themselves "Catholic Socialists." A sketch of *Socialistic Communities*, by Dr. J. A. Ryan, completes his survey in an earlier volume of "Communitistic Societies," but like the former is confined to the United States. The text might be expanded by a sketch of an attempted Australian Socialistic community in South America twenty years ago, recently described by Mr. Stewart Grahame in *Where Socialism failed*. *Sociology*, a wide subject, the width of which makes it very

difficult of compression, is adequately treated by Dr. Kerby, of Washington. Some mention should have been made of the recent interest in this subject evidenced by the success both in Great Britain and America of the Catholic Social Guild. Other topics of importance are *Syndicalism* and *Slavery* (7 cols.), the latter treated historically by Paul Allard and ethically by Dr. Fox, of Washington.

Church History, whether general, as in the *States of the Church*, and *Ecclesiastical Statistics* (26 cols.), a most valuable compilation due to the labours of Professor Baumgarten, of Rome, and Father H. A. Krose, S.J., of Valkenburg, or concerned with the fortunes of particular Churches, Orders, and Dioceses, is very fully represented in this volume. Perhaps the most important section is the long historical and expository account of the *Society of Jesus* (60 cols.), the work of Father John H. Pollen, S.J., which may be taken as an answer by a candid and fair-minded historian to such misleading accounts of the Order as that contained in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The various accusations brought against the Society, both by external foes and those of the household, are carefully examined and refuted in this admirable "Apologia"; at the same time Father Pollen frankly admits the mistakes made from time to time in tone, spirit, policy, and doctrine by individual Jesuits. Is it too much to hope that those who wish to understand the spirit of the Society of Jesus will consult in future this full and authentic statement? Of *Catholic Societies* in general we have abundant information, although it is rather curiously distributed. Under the common title, the subject is viewed from the standpoint of law, civil and canon. Then, under the title *Sodality* is collected a series of descriptions of all the pious associations of the Church, bewildering in their variety yet carefully classified, amongst which is pre-eminent the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin. Finally, under the heading *Third Orders* (23 cols.), we have an exhaustive account of the various organizations, both lay and regular, which have been grafted on to the great Orders of the Church. Here again the variety is bewildering, but the classification is somewhat imperfect. A section, *e.g.*, on p. 647 is headed "Province of the Sacred Heart of Jesus," but there is no reference in the text to what the title is supposed to apply. A full, even disproportionately full, account is also given of the strange history of the *St. Thomas Christians* (20 cols.).

We can spare little more space, and must be content with a mere indication of some of the other interesting topics treated. *The Slavs* (29 cols.), *The Thirty Years' War* (20 cols.), *Spain and Spanish Literature* (78 cols.), *The Spiritual Exercises* (9 cols.), *Secret Societies* (giving lists of those prohibited), *State and Church* (7 cols.), *The Temple of Jerusalem* (11 cols.), *The Synoptics* (9 cols.), *The Old and New Testaments* (23 cols.), are some specimens of important subjects. In biography the volume is rich, but the space severally allotted to famous names varies very arbitrarily. We are ready to grant *St. Thomas Aquinas* every line of his 20 columns (which include an excellent bibliography), *Tertullian* his nine, and *Blessed Thomas More* his seven, but *St. Teresa* and *Suarez*, both great Catholic forces, fare rather poorly with two each.

We might begin to congratulate the Editors on the approaching end of their labours, did we not know that they intend, even after the technical completion of their task, to continue in various ways to improve it. In any case they have laid the Catholic world under a deep debt of obligation to them.

2.—THE THEOLOGY OF ST. PAUL.¹

It is four years since Père Prat brought out the first volume of his *Theology of St. Paul*. It was a volume containing little short of 600 pages, yet some reviewer seems to have remarked pleasantly that it attained to the maximum of density, that is, of condensation, and the author fears lest the same should be thought of his new volume, though it is of equal length with the first. It will be, no doubt, but only to its credit, for it contains almost all that one could possibly need for the elucidation of the Apostle's thought, and yet expresses all with the utmost clearness as well as conciseness, and besides aids the reader with a perfect system of summaries, indices, and cross-references. Not that these features are all that is required in such a book, but the author shows also an insight and delicacy of perception in tracing the sinuosities of St. Paul's meaning which gives his book a special value, and makes it unlikely that it will be soon superseded.

¹ Bibliothèque de Théologie historique, publiée sous la direction des Professeurs de théologie de l'Institut Catholique de Paris. La Théologie de Saint Paul. Par F. Prat, S.J. 2^{me} partie. Paris: Beauchesne. Pp. viii. 579. Price, 7.50 fr. net. 1912.

In the Introduction to the first volume Père Prat adverted to the difficulty for an exponent of St. Paul's theology caused by the order in which, chronologically, the Apostle manifests his ideas. St. Paul's Epistles, without exception, were evoked by the circumstances of those to whom they were addressed. The Epistle to the Galatians was called forth by the ravages which the Judaizing movement was making in the Christian community the Apostle had founded there: the two Epistles to the Corinthians by the disorders and divisions which had arisen at Corinth. Had St. Paul been present to these Churches at the time when they needed his guidance to bring them safely through these crises, the Epistles addressed to them might never have been written. As it was he was determined to his choice of subject-matter and arguments by the needs of the Galatians and Corinthians. As the other Epistles are of similar character it was not to be expected that he should present in them a theology in all its extension and completeness: and as a result we must be prepared to find in them, even when taken together, some defects of proportion; for "controversy invariably falsifies the proportions by magnifying certain features at the expense of others." Still St. Paul has a way, even when laying down precepts concerning comparatively small matters, of deducing their necessity from principles of the highest order, and so provides very precious materials for the student who desires to collect and put together in synthetic form the grand whole of his theological teaching; though even then we must never forget that, inasmuch as for the reasons given he had no occasion to touch on more than a limited number of subjects, we are illogical if we infer that his creed did not extend beyond this range.

Such being the character of St. Paul's writings, Père Prat found himself faced with a difficulty. "If he followed the chronological order he must often separate facts united by the bond of a common causality, and dislocate doctrines which, could they be brought together, would explain one another. On the other hand, if he gave preference to the logical order he would be mixing up the teachings of the different epochs of St. Paul's career, and many elements by being viewed apart from their historical *situs* would be presented in a false light." In meeting this difficulty he has treated his readers generously, just for this reason providing them with two volumes instead of one, in the first of

which the chronological order was followed, whilst in that now published the logical order governs the exposition.

In this second volume the author devotes an introductory chapter to the Modern Conceptions of Paulinism, of which he gives a brief but sufficient account. Thus he examines the conception of evolution which dominated the Tübingen School, the pietistic conception which dominates writers of the School of Ritschl, and the radical conception upheld by writers of the Dutch School who seek a way out of the difficulties which rationalism has created for its adherents, by denying the genuineness of the Pauline Epistles altogether, indeed even the very existence of the Apostle; he examines, too, the less heterodox conceptions of writers of the past and present generations, such as Usteri, Lechler, Reuss, and Weiss, Beyschlag, Stevens and others. His duty to the rationalists being thus discharged, he turns to the more grateful and profitable task of taking the Apostle's writings as a genuine source and expounding their meaning by a careful interpretation.

The first thing is to fix their central idea, which after discussing and rejecting many suggestions that have been put forward, he does as follows:

How shall we find an expression [for this central idea] comprehensive enough to leave out nothing essential, yet concise enough to exclude all useless redundancy? Perhaps the following definition, in spite of its imperfection, will be found sufficiently explicit, provided the value of the terms is estimated with precision: "Christ, our Saviour, associates every believer with His death and His life." The words "Saviour, Christ," define the person of the Redeemer. . . . "Every believer" specifies the subject of redemption . . . and indicates the essential condition for salvation, faith. "Union with *the death and life of the Christ*" specifies the plan of redemption, conceived by the Father from all eternity, carried out at the turning-point of the ages by the Son, Who identifying Himself with us and uniting us to Himself by a bond of mystic solidarity, takes upon Himself what belongs to us, and communicates to us what belongs to Him.

Round this central thought the subjects of which St. Paul treats range themselves thus. First to be contemplated is the state to which humanity without Christ was reduced, and the initiative taken by the Eternal Father for its restoration: then the Personality of the Redeemer in its pre-existence to the Incarnation, its relations with the Personality of the Father and the Holy Spirit, and its incarnate state as Jesus Christ;

then the work of Redemption considered in the mission of the Redeemer, His redeeming death, and the consequent reconciliation of man with God, and victory over death, flesh and sin; lastly the Channels of redemption, namely, Faith, Justification, Sacraments, and the Church and the Fruits of redemption in the Christian life here, and the triumph of the just at the last day. It is on the lines of these divisions that Père Prat's second volume is arranged.

It is tantalizing not to be able to touch on any of the details of the author's development of this theme, but how rich it is the readers of the earlier volume can imagine, and one may add, that whilst in the way described the two volumes, though under a different aspect cover the same ground, there is no tiresome repetition about the second volume, which retains its hold on our interest by leading us further into the heart of the subject. It should be mentioned that the same system of Notes which was followed in the first volume is continued in this. These Notes are essays rather than Notes, and minutely investigate points for which the more summary treatment in the text would have been insufficient.

3.—FACTS AND THEORIES.¹

Facts and Theories is a book of some hundred and sixty pages, which aims at presenting "a popular account of certain biological problems and conceptions as they stand at the moment, and an appreciation of their bearing upon the beliefs of Catholics."

The matter is grouped into ten short essays, each of them more or less complete in itself, and one cannot but be struck by the amount of ground which they collectively cover. While of course a detailed discussion of any one subject is not possible, yet the author never gives the impression of being superficial. He is very simple and at the same time very convincing.

In the first two essays, on "Bias" and on "Dogmas," a protest is made against the idea that no Catholic is entitled to have an opinion on any subject, being disqualified as "biased"; and the charge of dogmatism is brought against popular science manuals in general. The division of scientific

¹ By Sir Bertram C. A. Windle. London: Catholic Truth Society. Pp. 164. Price, 1s. net. 1912.

literature into works for specialists, philosophical or quasi-philosophical works, and popular manuals seems much to the point, and strikes a note which echoes right through the book. It is invariably the popular manual, written often enough by a person of no scientific standing, that finds that Science has disproved all religious doctrines; and there is no better corrective to such an impression than a good course of real Science. "Life" and its difficulties receive a comparatively full treatment. The author establishes the Vitalist position, dealing, by anticipation as it were, with Professor Schäfer's recently expressed objections. Spontaneous generation, the origin of living beings from inorganic matter, so confidently assumed by Schäfer, is admitted as possible, with the proviso that all the evidence is against it, and a vigorous protest is made against the attitude of so many, aptly summed up in the words of the materialist Weismann: "Spontaneous generation, in spite of all vain efforts to demonstrate it, remains for me a logical necessity."

The latter half of the book concerns itself more directly with the problems centreing round the word Evolution. Darwinism, and Darwin's own doctrine form the subjects of two chapters, and a brief but instructive glimpse is afforded of the utter confusion which reigns in this particular corner of the biological field. "Darwinians and neo-Darwinians, Lamarckians and neo-Lamarckians, Galtonians, Haeckelians, Weismannians, de Vriesians, Mendelians, Hertwigians," all proclaim their wares at the top of their voices, and all differ from each other on points of varying importance. No doubt this is a necessary stage in the development of a science. Science demands that all aspects of the question should be thoroughly threshed out, and from the midst of these conflicting views it may be that the truth will emerge. In the meantime, while specialists thus disagree, it would be amusing, had it not a more serious aspect, to hear the writer of some little popular manual proclaim that Science has disproved religion, and that no educated man now-a-days can believe in God, in creation, or in the spiritual obligations and sanctions of Catholicism. Against extreme Evolutionism, the argument from morality is very effectively put. A world without morality is unthinkable, and a materialistic world is of necessity unmoral.

What we are advancing here is the theory that no such thing as a scheme of morality which would be recognizable as such by

ordinary decent-minded people can be deduced from external Nature; and that the scheme of life, morally and socially, which would follow upon a close copy of Nature—of Nature “red in tooth and claw”—as we see it around us, would be one which could not be contemplated without horror even by the most thoughtless and debauched human being. The choice, then, is placed before us: a materialistic world with no moral sanction or a world on principles taught by Christianity, and we may ask ourselves which picture most commends itself to all that is best in our natures?

The concluding chapter is devoted to “some other ’isms,” and ends with a summary of some eleven points made in the course of the book.

Of the lessons the author would teach two stand out above the rest; firstly, he tells us to drink in our science as far as possible at the fountain-head; and secondly, to accept facts as facts, and theories as theories.

The glib and often most ill-informed utterances of the writers of too many pamphlets, articles, and popular manuals may be very largely discounted, and persons reading them should always keep before their mind’s eye the difference between a scientific fact and a scientific hypothesis. The former, if really a fact, cannot affect religion in any way. The latter is only the thought of some man’s mind, and may take its place any day, as many and many a theory has done, on the scientific scrap-heap.

This book should be placed in every convent-, school-, parish-, and private library; it should be in every case of the C.T.S., on every barrow of the C.R.G.; it should be given as prizes, and quoted from the pulpit and thumbed in lecture-rooms and study-clubs. For it diffuses the clear, steady light of reason, reason sure of its grounds but conscious of its limitations, throughout a world obscured by the mists of rationalism.

4.—OUR REASONABLE SERVICE.¹

Father Vincent McNabb names his little book that has just appeared *Our Reasonable Service, an essay on the understanding of the deep things of God*. It is a collection of short papers, each dealing with a question which raises intellectual difficulties, and the writer’s object is to show that the Catholic’s attitude towards these questions is reasonable, in the

¹ An essay on the understanding of the deep things of God. By Vincent J. McNabb, O.P. Burns and Oates. Pp. viii, 138. Price, 3s. 6d. net. 1912.

sense, not of being in all cases capable of vindicating itself by rational demonstration, but of being conformed to the exigencies of reason. The papers are nine in number, and are on Logic and Faith, the Logos of St. John, the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection and Faith, St. Peter on the Gospels, What think ye of Christ? Newman and Spencer, Impersonal Teaching, Evil. In a short Introduction, Father McNabb tells us that the thoughts thus set down were elaborated "not on any fixed plan, but fitfully as need was, and still show marks of their fitful making." This has to be borne in mind, as also that he disclaims being taken as always approaching his subjects in the way he would himself prefer. "We have often argued," he says, "not from our own, but from our adversary's point of view . . . in the hopes of taking him where he should be found." In a few of the points the author endeavours to make, we might, if we were to discuss them, not altogether see our way to agree with him. For instance, he touches on a question now-a-days very topical and accepts the position, even claiming for it the authority of St. Thomas, that "truth is not a matter of one department of the understanding, nor even of the intellect in its totality. Every afferent faculty is an avenue of truth. Just as there are true facts and true ideas, so there are true affections, true imaginations, true sights, sounds, touches, and the rest." Many no doubt speak thus, but has Father McNabb understood what they mean by their words? They do not merely mean that other faculties are (normally) conformed to truth and reality in their affections, imaginations, and the rest; that we all admit and must admit; without that the intellect could form no judgment as to truth or falsity for the simple reason that it would have no data on which to go. But what writers like Lotze mean by phrases of this sort is that truth, to use Thomistic language, is not in *compositione et divisione*, or in more modern scholastic language that the power of consciously predicating one thing of another is not an exclusive property of the intellect. In the paper on the Resurrection and Faith, Father McNabb examines the question whether "the Resurrection of our Blessed Lord is the foundation of our faith." Non-Catholic, and even some Catholic, apologetic writers maintain that it is, but says Father McNabb, St. Thomas "rests faith itself on the Divinity of Jesus Christ. . . . Christ's teaching is the basis of Faith, and this teaching is not so much supported as strengthened and confirmed by

miracles." So far, surely there can be no question. Faith, generically, is assent based on trustworthy testimony, and Christian faith is based on the supremely trustworthy testimony of Christ. But, before we can believe rationally, we must have *motiva credibilitatis*, and it is here that miracles come in. Is the Resurrection of our Lord a miracle furnishing such a motive, and even the principal motive, for is it not in this sense only, if in any, that it can be called the foundation of our faith? Here Father McNabb cites St. Thomas, who certainly says both distinctly (as in 3a. Q 29, art. 1), and by implication, that "some miracles are the objects of faith (*de quibus est fides*), as the miracle of the Virgin Birth, the *Resurrection of the Lord*, and also the Sacrament of the Altar. . . . Some miracles are proofs of faith (*ad fidei probationem*), and these ought to be manifest." The point here is that the Resurrection of our Lord was not in itself witnessed by any one who could testify to it, but was a truth which the Apostles, and others after them, were required to believe on His testimony to this exercise of His power. This is most true; it might, however, be urged that the apparitions of our Lord to His Apostles after His Resurrection, were apparitions which proved to their reason that a man, the verity of whose death they had themselves witnessed, was now living again in body as well as soul; and that the proof thus furnished may fittingly be regarded as the miracle of the Resurrection itself acting *ad fidei probationem*. And it is in this sense we suppose that those speak who talk of the Resurrection as the principal foundation of our faith. They would not deny that other miracles contributed their part towards the *comprobatio fidei*, some of which, like the Ascension, were wrought more directly and entirely in the presence of witnesses, but, taking all our Lord's miracles in their totality, they maintain that in this totality the Resurrection was the seal and final confirmation of the rest. And so they understand the intention of the Apostles, who, as the Acts of the Apostles tell us, put this in the forefront of their proofs of our Lord's divinity.

But, though we may dissent from some few of Father McNabb's points, his book is decidedly stimulating, is, indeed, just the kind of book to make an intellectual knapsack for one who, "with a brother-priest as road-fellow," would "wayfare hurriedly into the hill country of God's mysteries."

5—CATHOLIC POETS.¹

We cannot be too grateful to the authoress for proving to us once more that we still have poets. For the glories of Francis Thompson have so eclipsed the rest, that we forget these; and our general level of art is so indescribably debased that we are, in moments of depression, capable of forgetting even Francis Thompson and even Bentley. It is true that we are referred to rather distant years for Southwell, Habington (about whom, we suppose, not many people knew), and, of course, Crashaw—whose spell, however, lies strong upon most later Catholic poetry, as the authoress sees. And Aubrey de Vere (whom we constantly find ourselves liking better than we were expecting) and Coventry Patmore even, have that occasional flavour in their verses which we nickname "old-fashioned." But what of Patmore's contemporary and critic, Gerard Hopkins? Is it not an appalment for heaven and earth that so little is being done for him? Here is a writer emancipated from time and tradition. Here is a Prophet, a Martyr, and an Apostle who is at the same time a Poet—and which of us has the chance of reading him? Many of his poems survive in MS., are, in fact, in the careful and reverent keeping of another poet, Mr. Robert Bridges, and ultimately, we trust, are destined to see the light. But will the Catholic public really appreciate this portion of the inheritance that falleth to them? We hear rightly, of the unique and magnetic attraction of his poems: of his "*terrible pathos*" (Dixon's words), of his "poignant, ever passionate sincerity"; of his "final crucifixion of mind as well as of body." But who seems to care, or to want to make amend?

It may be that, as in 1889, he just "let himself die," so neither had nor has he any wish to survive even in these his secret poems, half-forecasting, it may be, their misapprehension by the multitude.

Francis Thompson is in danger of a too popular glorification which will entail reaction. But Lionel Johnson's astonishingly complex and rich work is not known enough, at any rate to Catholics. His appreciation in this book is of high value and most apposite. We want to know Lionel Johnson far more deeply and sympathetically. It is incredible how we ignore our splendours. How often is

¹ *The Poet's Chantry.* By Katherine Brégy. London: Herbert and Daniel. Pp. 181. Price, 3s. 6d. net. 1912.

Father Southwell quoted in our schools? How often, at the other end of the years, is Johnson? How often, Mrs. Meynell, of whose poems we have here a most charming and affectionate study?

We may conclude with two questions. Why do our poets not write hymns? If they do, why do we never, never sing them?

6.—PROGRESS!¹

On p. 76 the authoress cries out:

"Thusnelda! Amalasontha! Waldrada! Theodelinda! Who does not know and love them?"

"I!" says the reviewer, with the prompt truthfulness of the creatures in Cock Robin.

Chastened thus in spirit, he watches this tilting by Mrs. Mordecai at modern fetich and shibboleth, at our idols of theatre and market, at our corruptions of the best, and our perversions of fine ideas or facts. For example, she is all for liberty and activity; yet she will discriminate within our anti-slavery crusade and our development of machinery—Mohammed she rightly sees to have been a champion of women as of slaves; while *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was "as unscrupulous and false a libel as has ever been written": Machinery, for all its benefits, has "taught us deception enough to indicate an evil element in its origin."

Thus it appears that not all our feverish restlessness denotes true progress.

Mrs. Mordecai has a distinct power of epigram and rhetoric, a wealth, too, of illustrative allusion. She expresses herself in extremely short paragraphs, an oracular style shared by Lord Avebury and the Book of Proverbs. She is profuse in marks of exclamation, like street-notices in Germany; this keeps us gently simmering in an astonishment which may merge, we feel, into some mild philosophy. She often omits all verbs—a concession to the Futurists, who would also abolish all adjectives, adverbs, and conjunctions. Would they but dispense, too, with their noun-substantives! She passes pleasantly at times, into French. But the printer's, or some other devil, has been malicious. P. 61: "The Republic—the

¹ Progress! What it means. The Evolution of Education, Religion, and Woman. By Mrs. Randolph Mordecai. London: Sands. Pp. viii. 164. Price, 1s. net. 1912.

millennium by another name—*Rues plaines de lumière*." P. 109: "carefully dressed—*bien coiffée*." P. 144: *Sabbatier*. And p. 45—a phrase worth giving to the class "to correct or justify":

France—Grande Dame tombée et déclassé! descendue de son calèche doré et trainante ses jupes de soie dans la boue.

The following passages may illustrate the style and method of the authoress:

In the dawn of time woman was the goddess and the queen! . . . (p. 72.)

Man was a mere adjunct to her, and the position of primeval woman was that of the queen bee! . . . (p. 72).

The white lily of the north! The sunshine of the German and Scandinavian forests. The inspiration of those pure and beautiful love stories, the immortal sagas—(Helden Sagen!) . . . (p. 76).

Vittoria Colonna! Leonora and Isabella d'Este! Elisabetta Gonzaga! Catarino Cornaro [?]? Lucretia Borgia! Emilia and Margarita Pia! Fransisca [*sic*] de Rimini! . . . (p. 99). [But]

The descendant of the queen bee [has] become a cross between the chameleon and the butterfly! . . . (p. 104).

We have meant no more than to smile at the unconventionality of a book which, for that very element's sake, will stimulate its readers—may they be many—to a very wholesome searching of conscience and to a readjustment of standards and ideals. We must, however, enter a protest against the statement (p. 115) that facility for divorce tends to preserve American morality. There is some confusion of thought here. The authoress has not reflected that the remarriage of divorced persons is adultery, even though legalized.

7.—ST. AUGUSTINE AND GENESIS.¹

In this work we have an attempt to combine studies which, we cannot but think, were best kept distinct, namely, that of the Old Latin texts of Genesis used by Augustine, and that of the Latinity of the Old Latin Bible. No doubt a student of late Latinity must include the Old Latin Bible in

¹ A Study of Augustine's Versions of Genesis. A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Department of Latin). By John S. McIntosh. The University of Chicago Press (English agents, The Cambridge University Press). Pp. x. 130. Price, 3s. net. 1912.

his survey. But we doubt whether there be any compensating advantages sufficient to justify his confining himself within such narrow and artificial limits as the quotations in Augustine from a single book. We do not say that work thus confined is absolutely useless, and indeed there is much in the book before us that would prove the contrary; but we do think that, as far as the study of Latinity is concerned, it was imperative to make a wider deduction if the results were to be thoroughly reliable. The limitation, natural enough, of the author's textual study, has led to a corresponding but very undesirable limitation of his study of Latinity.

Another imperative necessity in the study of the Latinity of the Old Latin Bible is a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew text. The study of the Greek papyri has taught us that in the New Testament "Semiticisms" are to be looked for, not so much in the use of words or constructions otherwise inadmissible, but in the much more frequent use than usual of such admissible Greek as approximates most to Semitic usage. Hence the student of late Greek, if he is to put, say, the Synoptic gospels under contribution, must have a working knowledge of Aramaic, in order to be able to abstract from its influence. And so it is with the Old Latin version; it is not enough to keep a sharp look-out on the Septuagint from which it is taken, but, if the work is to be thorough, one must be prepared to explain both by the Hebrew. And it seems to us that the book before us is wanting in this respect. One example must suffice. The use of the preposition *a* with the ablative expressing comparison is mentioned, without a hint that it is an obvious Hebraism; and it is this same Hebrew usage which would supply the clue to the Greek rendering of Gen. xlix. 12, discussed in the same place (p. 112).

The purely textual part of the work, on the other hand, does not demand the same familiarity with the Hebrew. The author appears to have spent upon it that minute and laborious care which alone can give such an effort permanent value. His results would be more easy to follow if the variant readings were at the foot of the text and not some pages off. Perhaps, too, where parallel texts are given from different works of Augustine, points of difference might be marked by italics. We feel bound to echo his protest (pp. 11-12) against Zycha's treatment of biblical quotations in the works of Augustine, which he had edited for the Vienna *Corpus*. If the text of such quotations is still to be deduced *a priori*

from standard editions of the Bible, they will remain hopelessly unreliable and, of course, absolutely useless for the reconstruction of the text of the Bible itself.

In treating of the version or versions used by St. Augustine, the author scarcely appears to attach quite sufficient importance to the Saint's own utterances. For our part, when St. Augustine so distinctly speaks of different versions (*De doctrina Christ*, ii. 15), we are willing to suppose that he understood what he was saying, though, of course, a "new" version is usually a recension of an older one. A more difficult question is that of his uniformity. When we find him distinguishing between good and bad Greek manuscripts, and also mentioning the Hebrew reading (cf. references on p. 69), we cannot but conclude that he would not have cared to pin himself down to any one manuscript; when making lengthy or important quotations, he may well have been somewhat eclectic. On the other hand, his isolated and more or less casual quotations, like those of other Fathers, not to speak of the New Testament writers, must usually have been from memory. It was too formidable a business to verify one's references in those happy days! Still, it is very likely that in a continuous commentary on one book he would keep fairly closely to one type of text, and the author's conclusion that in the *De Genesi ad litteram* there is a closer translation of the original certainly warrants us in supposing that here we have in the main the *Itala*, which Augustine characterizes as *tenacior verborum* (*De doctrina Christ*, ii. 15).

The author started work with a more ambitious plan (pp. 9—10), which he has not yet abandoned. We wish him all success in it. What is chiefly requisite is that in the study of the Latinity he should work more with the Hebrew, and that in working out the textual problem he should make it easier to follow his results with the eye.

Short Notices.

THE same note of stoic resignation, in face of the puzzles of life, which marked *The Circuit Rider's Wife*, by Corra Harris, characterizes a later book by the same writer, *Eve's Second Husband* (Constable: 6s.). There is the same shrewd observation and descriptive power, the same gleam of humour, but the atmosphere is as de-Christianized as before—the usual result in non-Catholic communities of an independent critical attitude

towards the Gospel teaching. Faith has gone out, and there is nothing to illuminate the darkness but a sort of calm acquiescence in Providence which resembles the old pagan attitude towards Fate. The book is partly a sketch of American village- and state-politics, and contains many cleverly etched types of those engaged in that unlovely trade, partly an analysis of a woman's changing outlook during the course of married life, which is deep and searching enough, but takes no account of the grace of the Sacrament.

A very useful record of the depth and prevalence of this devotion in pre-Reformation England, is provided by *A Book of the Love of Mary* (Pitman and Sons : 2s.net), compiled and edited by Freda Mary Groves. Our Lady's "worship" (in the true Catholic sense), was evidenced by the number of churches dedicated to God in her name, by celebrated shrines, pictures and images, by guilds under her patronage, and by the various pious practices and prayers common amongst the people, all of which receive due recognition in this little volume. His Eminence Cardinal Bourne contributes an appreciative Preface.

The discipline of the Church, ancient and modern, in regard to the Confessions of Nuns is expounded in a useful little treatise by Père Felician Souarn, O.S.A., called *De Confessariis Religiosarum* (Gabalda : Paris), which cites in full all the relative documents.

Under the conventional form of a memoir, M. Jean Charruau has written a pleasing story of the French Revolution with the scene in Brittany, called appropriately *Vendéenne* (Téqui : 2.00 fr.). Mingled with the stirring historical events of the time, there is a strong religious interest, and the tale, if somewhat melancholy, is very readable.

The fame of the "Little Flower of Jesus" is steadily growing, and the official declaration of her sanctity which seems to be impending will bring joy to her clients all over the world. M. Jean Saint-Yves has written a short study on her life and character, *Une Petite Sainte* (Lethielleux : 1.00 fr.), which testifies to the wonderful impression a simple life of absolute selflessness has made upon this generation. M. Saint-Yves in his comments upon that life has conveyed that impression with much literary skill.

It is characteristic of a narrow and unbalanced mind to be unable to make allowance for the abuses, the exaggerations, or the defects which attach themselves to all human enterprises, even the holiest, precisely because they are human, and to condemn the good on account of the incidental evil. There are always those in the Church who would trample down the wheat in the vain effort to eradicate the tares, and a good specimen of the class is "Stéphane Mariger," said to be a French ecclesiastic, who, out of an assumed zeal for an unattainable perfection, attacks under cover of his pseudonym what he thinks to be amiss in the Christian society around him. His latest *brochure*, *La Peur et la Foi* (Munier : Paris), is full of the one-sided, captious, Jansenistic spirit which characterized his previous erroneous utterances regarding War and Capital Punishment. That spirit may be sufficiently illustrated by the fact that he asserts the terrible disaster of the "Charity Bazaar" at Paris to have been a judgment of God indicating the Divine disapproval of such means of raising money!

M. Eugène Bernand has already won an assured place among the artists of our time by his accomplished drawings, and is well known even beyond French art-circles. The handsome volume called *Les Paraboles* (Berger-Levrault : Paris), reproduces in excellent style a series of illustrations of the

Gospel stories, which M. Bernand exhibited a few years ago in Paris. The sacred text is printed opposite the pictures, and a long Preface by M. Eugène Melchior de Vogüé details with much emotional enthusiasm their varied excellences. We cannot wholly agree with this critic, for we detect but little real feeling in these drawings, but doubtless they are fine character-studies, interesting as highly-finished works of art, often dramatic and always refined.

It would seem that to the end of time the characters and motives of the agents of the French Revolution, as well as the several episodes of that great upheaval, would provide material for the work of the philosophic historian. For not only the events and persons themselves, but the innumerable *ex parte* accounts of those events and persons furnish matter for further and further discussion. In **Le Procès du Neuf Thermidor** (Bloud : 3.50 fr.), M. André Godard takes occasion of the fatal debate which preceded the fall of Robespierre to form a new estimate of his character. The upshot of his pleading is that Robespierre was overthrown, not on account of his atrocities actual and intended, but rather by worse ruffians than himself who resented his efforts to restore religion and order.

Something of the same sort has been done for another French writer by Canon Alexandre Pons in his **L'Expérience Religieuse de Chateaubriand** (Lethielleux : 3.00 fr.). His main object is to show by selected passages, not only from the *Mémoires* but from other writings as well, that Saint-Beuve's malicious accusations of radical infidelity against Chateaubriand cannot be sustained. The Canon begins with a running commentary on the life and writings of his subject, and then quotes passages which illustrate his inner nature and beliefs. The result should be the rehabilitation of Chateaubriand in the minds of those who know him only through Saint-Beuve.

As with most non-Catholic Christians the Bible is practically the sole Rule of Faith, it follows that in the Bible-lesson in non-Catholic schools it is of the first importance. It is equally evident that the Bible, taken from the protection of the Church, has fared very ill at the hands of modern critics, and that therefore many teachers are puzzled how to deal with a Book which originally was forced into a position it was never meant to fill and has now become very much less adapted for that position. The papers read at a Conference held to discuss this difficulty—**Scripture Teaching in Secondary Schools** (Cambridge University : 1s. 6d. net)—have been collected and edited by Mr. N. P. Wood, its Secretary. A perusal of these papers does not succeed in lessening the difficulty, which ultimately rests on a difference of view as to the character and effects of "inspiration," for it is unreasonable to deal with an inspired book as if it were not inspired. However, the papers hold many suggestions even for Catholic teachers, and it is interesting to note that one writer has the courage and consistency to plead for an expurgated Bible to be used with Junior Forms.

Those who study Geography in the manner now made possible by the issue of the *Cambridge County Geographies* (University Press : 1s. 6d. each) will at least get a wonderful knowledge of their own country, even if they have no time for anything else. In **North Lancashire**, Mr. J. E. Marr, F.R.S., gives a clear if summary account of the history, geology, fauna, flora, antiquities, buildings, political divisions, great men, and industries of that section of the globe, illustrated by many excellent half-tones, which make a very readable little volume.

Two new numbers in Messrs. Benziger's **Round the World Series**,

Nos. IX. and X., carry out the same idea in a much more extended scale. But these lavishly illustrated reading-books are very eclectic in their choice of subjects, and do not confine themselves to mere history and geography.

Amongst anniversaries of which the great world takes little notice, there has occurred this year the tercentenary of the death of St. Joseph of Leonessa, a holy Italian Capuchin, who, with the exception of a missionary visit to Constantinople, where he did and suffered strange things, exercised his apostolate in his own country. In honour of the tercentenary Father Anthony Brennan has published a brief biographical sketch, *St. Joseph of Leonessa* (Washbourne : 6d), which may be read with profit and interest.

Coventry Patmore, the poet of etherealized married love, would have delighted in *The Idea of Mary's Meadow* (Alston Rivers, 5s. net), by Mrs. Armel O'Connor (better known as Violet Bullock-Webster), for it is a prose idyll composed by a wife for a husband, and embodying a revelation of career and character and aim so delicately intimate that no one but the husband, one thinks, should have seen it. But he, it appears, wished the world to share his privilege, and it is not for the world to complain, for the whole atmosphere of the book is at once natural and supernatural, a constant elevation to God through the medium of beautiful things and kind actions. The matter of the book, the establishment of a little dwelling-place for mother and adopted daughter, might be thought trivial, like the canvas backing of a piece of tapestry, but it is so elaborated by literary skill and high spiritual insight that the result is in every way beautiful.

The Penal Days in England have always formed an attractive period for our Catholic novelists ; Mrs. Thomas Concannon in *The Sorrows of Lycadoon* (C.T.S. of Ireland : 1s. net), which is No. 10 of the excellent "Iona" Series, shows us that the corresponding times in Ireland are an even after field for romance. Her story, which deals with the mixed religious and political activities of Henry VIII. in the Sister Isle, is very well constructed, and told with considerable literary power.

The writer of the new *Life of St. Augustine* (Sands and Co. : 3s. 6d. net), in the "Notre Dame" series of Saints' Lives, has aimed at producing a clear readable account of his subject based on Augustine's own writings. Few realize how much biographical detail is contained in the Saint's sermons which are often easy, familiar homilies, anticipating the style made prevalent by St. Philip Neri. Into the vexed doctrinal questions arising out of St. Augustine's writings we are not bidden to enter, but a useful summary of his contributions to a systematized theology is set forth.

A delightful book by Mgr. R. H. Benson—but its title, *A Child's Rule of Life* (Longmans : 1s. net), is a trifle austere—reached us just as we were wishing that the *Alphabet of Saints* might be followed up, and that our Catholic children might find themselves as well equipped, for pious yet pleasant literature, as are their Protestant playmates. The *Rule* is set out in red and black—big black lettering in a frame of charming Teddy-bears and Chinese dolls and miraculous medals and toy soldiers and balloons and elephants, all tied together with a rosary ; amiable pictures drawn by Mr. Gabriel Pippet head each page, in which children (mildly medieval) are to be seen making their morning Cross, and at their *prie-dieux* and at Mass ; also at breakfast, at lessons, and at play ; naughty and sorry and good ; at Confession and Communion ; mothered by Mary ; guarded in their beds again, by Evangelists and Apostles, and sentinelled, the whole night through, by calm white Angels. All God's most splendid Court is not too high for

the service of their King, hidden in a child's Christian innocence. Needless to say the verses are naive, and wise ; quaint, and beautiful ; easily "understood" yet soul-searching. Children will find Mr. Pipplet's pictures most successful : we perhaps might wish that Mgr. Benson's portrait were not hinted on the cover and that the children he there catechizes were not bandy-legged ; but who could quarrel with an artist who so modestly effaces himself behind an easel which suffers no more than his black pate and turned-in toes to show ?

The Methodists, at any rate in Ireland, Italy, and the United States, have won an unenviable reputation for fraudulent methods of proselytizing. The same note attaches, as we gather from a pamphlet written by Father E. R. Hull, S.J., Editor of the *Examiner*, to their operations in India. There, as elsewhere, they use their funds in disseminating such gross libels against Catholicism as the revelations of Maria Monk, and Pastor Chiniquy. Father Hull has been at pains in his pamphlet—**Maria Monk, Chiniquy, and Jovinian on Celibacy and the Confessional** (Sands : 1d.), to put this conduct in its true light, arraigning its perpetrators, not only as defamers of the brethren, but also as purveyors of indecent literature, who deliberately, under show of religious zeal, pander to vile passions at the risk of making their converts children of Gehenna of a deeper dye than themselves. As is usual in Father Hull's writings, motives and principles are analyzed with the utmost clearness, the Church's discipline is admirably vindicated, and none but hopeless bigots could fail to see the iniquity of a campaign of slander which stops at no mendacity to gratify its spite.

The month of October being consecrated to the cultus of the Angels, we are glad to recommend the thirty-one meditations which Father Bearne has written on that subject—**The Holy Angels** (Messenger Office : paper 3d., boards, 6d.), to the devotion of the faithful. They will be reminded by perusing it of the many revelations of Angelic character and function which are found in Holy Writ, and realize how these our fellow-creatures can instruct us in the creature's virtues.

In addition to the important book noticed elsewhere, we have many other signs of the unabated vigour of the Catholic Truth Society. The series of penny pamphlets containing accounts of twelve **Catholic Men of Science** has been edited in a one-and-sixpenny volume by Sir Bertram Windle, who in a brief preface thus admirably sums up the purpose of the compilation.

The object of these biographies is to demonstrate the fact, unknown apparently to many critics of the Church, that there are numerous stars of science (and many more than this series includes) who were also devout Catholics, and found no difficulty in maintaining both positions simultaneously. . . . The persons whose lives are sketched here are taken from different countries, from different ages, and from different branches of science, biological and physical. . . . In one thing only all are alike, and that is in their attachment to their religion.

Mr. McCabe will say, to be sure, that all these men are dead whilst Professor Haeckel still lives, but the argument in the book is addressed to rational beings, not to "rationalists" of that type. The various Lives are written by men eminent in the scientific world, who, in their own persons also exemplify the argument of the book, and the volume is handsomely bound and adorned by portraits of the celebrities dealt with.

Some Irish Stories (C. T. S. : 6d.) by Miss Alice Dease, needs no recommendation to readers of *THE MONTH*, for, although none of these particular tales have appeared in its pages, not a few others have, which show the same

delicate fancy, the same humour and the same intimate knowledge of the Irish character. There are eight of them and they are obtainable also in three penny numbers, but the extra price is worth paying for the convenience of having them all neatly bound in a stiff, decorated wrapper.

Amongst the other penny pamphlets are the Life of **René Théodore Laënnec (1781—1826)** by Professor B. J. Collingwood of Dublin, one of the most interesting and brightly written of the series of "Catholic Men of Science;" **The Catholic Scout's Prayer Book**, an admirable little production skilfully drawn up to suit its particular public; **Minnie Murphy's Mendacities**, a very necessary exposure of the too common attitude of the non-Catholic press in regard to Catholic affairs, which puts in a well-deserved pillory, not so much the wretched girl whose name appears in the title, but the papers in Sheffield and elsewhere which exploited her silly fictions for money; and **Mass for the Dead**, a convenient reprint from the Missal giving as well an English translation of the service and the rubrics.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(Reviewed in present issue or reserved for future notice).

FROM THE AUTHOR.

St. Charles and Switzerland. By Rev. Cuthbert Robinson, O.S.C. (Bruges). Pp. 68. Price, 1s. post free. 1912.

BEAUCHESNE, Paris.

Elements de Psychologie Expérimentale. By J. de la Vassière, S.J. Pp. xiv, 381. 1912.

BENNETT AND CO., London.

A Plea for a Re-consideration of St. Paul's Doctrine of Justification. By the Rev. E. J. Watson Williams, M.A. Pp. 160. Price, 4s. 1912.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

Texts and Studies, Vol. VIII. No. 3. *The Odes of Solomon.* By J. H. Bernard, D.D. Pp. vii, 134. Price, 6s. net. 1912.

CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY, London.

Some Irish Stories. By Alice Dease. Pp. 200. Price, 6d. (paper). 1912. *Twelve Catholic Men of Science.* Edited by Sir B. Windle, F.R.S. Pp. vi, 245. Price, 1s. 6d. 1912. *Facts and Theories.* By Sir B. Windle, F.R.S. Pp. 164. Price, 1s. net. (cloth). 1912. Several Penny Pamphlets.

CAXTON PUBLISHING COMPANY, London.

The Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. XIV. *Simony—Tournely.* Pp. xv, 800. Price, 27s. 6d. 1912.

CHICAGO UNIVERSITY PRESS.

A Study of Augustine's Versions of Genesis. By John S. McIntosh. Pp. 130. Price, 3s. net. 1912.

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